THE
ETHIOPIC
LITURGY

Pacific Theological
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Berkeley, Calif.

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Series of 1914-5
THE HALE LECTURES
WESTERN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
CHICAGO, ILL.

THE ETHIOPIC LITURGY

THE HALE LECTURES 1914-5

THE ETHIOPIC LITURGY

ITS SOURCES, DEVELOPMENT, AND PRESENT FORM

By

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EXTRACTS

From the Will of the Rt. Rev. Charles Reuben Hale, D.D., LL.D., Bishop Coadjutor of Springfield, *born* 1837; *consecrated* July 26, 1892; *died December* 25, 1900.

✠ In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

I, Charles Reuben Hale, Bishop of Cairo, Bishop Coadjutor of Springfield, of the City of Cairo, Illinois, do make, publish, and declare this, as and for my Last Will and Testament, hereby revoking all former wills by me made.

First. First of all, I commit myself, soul and body, into the hands of Jesus Christ, my Lord and Saviour, in Whose Merits alone I trust, looking for the Resurrection of the Body and the Life of the World to come.

. . . . . .

Fourteenth. All the rest and residue of my Estate, personal and real, not in this my Will otherwise specifically devised, wheresoever situate, and whether legal or equitable, I give, devise, and bequeath to "The Western Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois," above mentioned, but nevertheless *In Trust*, provided it shall accept the trust by an instrument in writing so stating, filed with this Will in the Court where probated, within six months after the probate of this Will—for the general purpose of promoting the Catholic Faith, in its purity and integrity, as taught in Holy Scripture, held by the Primitive Church, summed up in the Creeds and affirmed by the undisputed General Councils, and, in particular, to be used only and exclusively for the purposes following, to-wit:—

. . . . . .

(2) The establishment, endowment, publication, and due circulation of Courses of Lectures, to be delivered annually forever, to be called "The Hale Lectures."

The Lectures shall treat of one of the following subjects:

(*a*) Liturgies and Liturgics.
(*b*) Church Hymns and Church Music.
(*c*) The History of the Eastern Churches.
(*d*) The History of National Churches.
(*e*) Contemporaneous Church History: *i.e.*, treating of events happening since the beginning of what is called "The Oxford Movement," in 1833.

It is the aim of the Seminary, through the Hale Lectures, to make from time to time some valuable contributions to certain of the Church's problems, without thereby committing itself to agreement with the utterances of its own selected Preachers.

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PREFACE

On the twenty-eighth of November, 1913, I received an appointment, through the Secretary of the Committee on Hale Lectures and Sermons, to prepare and deliver a series of lectures upon a subject involving a presentation of the present Ethiopic liturgy in the English language. Realizing the scarcity of Ethiopic manuscripts, especially modern ones, in Occidental museums and libraries, I communicated, shortly after my appointment, with the American and British representatives at Addis Abbeba, the capital of Ethiopia. On the fifteenth of May, 1914, I received from His Britannic Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Addis Abbeba a manuscript copy of the Ethiopic liturgy as it is used in Abyssinia to-day. It was procured through His Beatitude the *Abūna,* who was pleased to have it transmitted to me.

During the summer of 1914 I examined every Ethiopic liturgical manuscript in the museums and libraries of Europe (including those in Petrograd), with the exception of those in France, which on account of war became inaccessible. Among the many manuscripts examined, not one was found to represent the present form of the Ethiopic liturgy. Consequently my own manuscript, being the only one of the present Ethiopic service known to me, forms the basis of this work, the other manuscripts being used to represent the development of the liturgy at different stages.

With the exception of an unsatisfactory text printed in Rome by the Ethiopic monk Tasfa Sion in the sixteenth century, this is the first time that the complete normal liturgy of the Ethiopic Church has been published. It is also the first appearance of the Ethiopic liturgy in its twentieth century form in any translation.

As an introduction to the translation of the liturgy, a discussion of the background, sources, earliest form, and development of the service has been presented. After the translation there follows a series of critical notes on the text of the Ethiopic manuscript; and, finally, a facsimile copy of the *Ordo Communis,* with the standard Anaphora, is appended.

The main object of this work has been to set forth the present Ethiopic liturgy in such a form that liturgical scholars who are not Orientalists may be able to use it in their studies. A facsimile has been presented, in order that those liturgical scholars who are also Orientalists may have the original text before them. In addition, it is hoped that the presentation of this liturgy, with the accompanying comparisons and discussions, will be of use to the theologian who aims at an understanding of the teaching of this far off Christian Church; and that, now when the subject of Christian unity is in the air, it may help us to see in distant Abyssinia a sister community ready and willing to coöperate if approached intelligently.

It is now my pleasant duty to record briefly my sincerest thanks to some of the many scholars and friends who have assisted me in this undertaking. My greatest thanks are due to my chief and friend, the Rev. Dr. William C. De Witt, Dean of the Western Theological Seminary, for the ever ready exercise of his sound practical judgment and advice. To His Beatitude *Abūna* Matthew, Metropolitan of Ethiopia, I humbly render thanks; as also to C. H. M. Daughty Wylie, His Britannic Majesty's representative in Abyssynia. To Professors Lyon of Harvard and Hyvernat of the Catholic University of Washington, I am indebted for much kindness, and also to the many keepers of Ethiopic manuscripts in Europe, especially to the Very Rev. Fr. Ehrle, Prefect of the Vatican Library, and to Henry Guppy, Esq., librarian of The John Rylands Library, for his kindness in sending me a photograph of the papyrus manuscript of the Nicene Creed. My pupil, Mr. A. B. Gilfillan, B.A., deserves unstinted thanks for the care with which he read the manuscript of these lectures, as well as for his many helpful suggestions. Mr. Gilfillan kindly made the index, for which I hereby publicly thank him. Finally, my gratitude is due to my two colleagues, Dr. Burton Scott Easton and Professor Leicester Crosby Lewis, to my pupil, the Rev. Albert Edward Selcer, and to the Rev. Erle Homer Merriman, who read these lectures in proof and made many suggestions and corrections.

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I. THE SOURCES AND EARLIEST FORM OF THE ETHIOPIC LITURGY

LECTURE I

INTRODUCTION, AND THE BACKGROUND OF THE CHRISTIAN LITURGY

1. INTRODUCTION

WE MAY feel safe in saying that no movement known to humanity has been so persistently studied and so fully discussed as Christianity. Its birth in Palestine, and its spread to the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, to Central and Northern Europe, to Russia and to the Americas, have formed, during the past nineteen centuries, the study of many of the best minds, and have been the subject of myriads of volumes. Not only have the history and teaching of Christianity been carefully investigated and recorded, but also its methods and forms of worship, both public and private. There is one and only one portion of the Christian Church which affords an exception to all this, one national Church about whose origin the world knows little, and about whose development, teaching, and forms of worship it knows even less, and that is the national Church of the African kingdom of Abyssinia, better known as the Ethiopic Church.

This Church has been isolated from the rest of Christendom from the time of its foundation down to the present day with the exception of two comparatively short periods, namely, the first three hundred years of its existence (c. 340-650), and the period of Roman missions (c. 1550-1632). Because of this isolation, the Ethiopic Church has produced no historians, and consequently European scholars have been given no materials with which to reconstruct the Church's history; with the result that there does not exist to-day a history of the Ethiopic Church worthy of the name. Chronicles have at all times been kept by Abyssinian students and learned men, and a few copies of these are preserved in public and private libraries in Europe and America, and many of them exist in monasteries of the Ethiopic Church; but the number of scholars who are sufficiently familiar with the languages in which such chronicles are recorded is amazingly small, and smaller still is the number of such who are interested in the teaching and worship of that Church. Consequently, Occidentals are sadly ignorant of Ethiopic Church history, and still more so of her teaching and worship.

The writing of a history of Ethiopic Christianity does not come within the scope of these lectures; that must be left to students and scholars of the future; nor do these lectures pretend to be a complete and final discussion of the Ethiopic liturgy. Their one aim is to discuss, however simply and imperfectly, the sources, development, and present form of the liturgy, so far as manuscript authority will permit; and to compare it from stage to stage with its sister liturgies, and with other related rites. But what is particularly held to be a justification of the present work is the publication of the original text, and the translation into a modern language for the first time of the Ethiopic liturgy as it is used in the Church in Abyssinia to-day. This is its chief originality, and its *raison d'être.* With this translation in hand, the student of liturgics, though unfamiliar with the Ethiopic original, can see exactly how the service is conducted in Abyssinia at the present time, and can study its parts. He is enabled to compare it, as never before, with the varying forms of the same liturgy from the fifth century down to the present day. On account of lack of space, it has not been considered within the scope of this work to translate and discuss the thirteen variant Anaphoras in the manuscript of the present liturgy, but it has been thought sufficient to render only the standard Anaphora of the Apostles, which together with the Pro-anaphora makes up the normal liturgy. It is hoped that the translation of the thirteen variant anaphoras will be made at some future time, together with an investigation of Ethiopic service books, other than the liturgy, none of which have as yet been translated.

An indication of the plan of these lectures will perhaps aid the student in following the intricate and often very involved discussions and descriptions upon which we shall be forced to enter. The subject as announced is, "The Ethiopic Liturgy, its Sources, Development, and Present Form," and the discussion thereof has been divided into two main parts, (1) the sources and earliest form of the liturgy, and (2) its development and present form.

The first lecture seeks to define and trace liturgical worship in a general way previous to the rise of Christianity, thus preparing a background and framework for a discussion of the beginning and development of liturgical forms during the first four Christian centuries. This brief discussion is the subject of the second lecture. With the introduction of Christianity into Abyssinia in the fourth century we begin the study of the Ethiopic liturgy itself, and as the Church of Abyssinia took her orders and service from Alexandria so we should suppose that the liturgy of the Ethiopic Church would from the beginning be Alexandrian. But Alexandria possessed no written liturgy till the beginning of the fifth century, and neither did the Ethiopic, nor any other church. Ethiopia, however, kept close to the mother Church of Alexandria, and when the latter for the first time committed her liturgy to writing we have reason to believe that Ethiopia used the same finally stereotyped form. This earliest form, written in Greek, is no longer extant, the oldest manuscript of it not antedating the twelfth century. Meanwhile many changes had been made. However, by carefully eliminating all additions and rectifying all changes, so far as our knowledge will permit, we are enabled to arrive at a fairly close approximation of what the Greek liturgy of Alexandria, and hence of the Ethiopic Church, was in the fifth century. In the third lecture, then, an attempt will be made, along the lines just indicated, in a general way, and by comparison with sister rites, to reconstruct the first complete and crystallized Ethiopic liturgy—complete and crystallized, for, as will be shown in the second lecture, there were fluid rites in all Christian centres before the complete and stereotyped forms had become established.

At that point we shall enter upon the second main division of the discussion, namely, the development and present form of the Ethiopic liturgy. The earliest extant complete manuscript of this liturgy belongs to the seventeenth century. To represent the period from the fifth to the seventeenth centuries, there are, as far as Western scholars know, only two manuscripts, one of the fifteenth century (*Br. & For. Bib. Soc. G*), containing merely a fragmentary Anaphora; and the other of the sixteenth century (in the Bibliothèque Nationale, *Paris, Éth.* 77:5), which likewise contains only a fragmentary Anaphora. A church order of King Zar'a-Jacob (1434-1468) throws light, though not much, on a part of the Anaphora; and Tasfa Sion's Ethiopic *Novum Testamentum* of the sixteenth century contains a very imperfect edition of the Ethiopic liturgy, based on a manuscript not now known to exist. Beginning with the seventeenth century the material, in the way of manuscripts, is more plentiful. A comparison of the Ethiopic liturgy of the fifth century with Tasfa Sion will form the basis of our study of the development down to the sixteenth century. From the sixteenth century to the present time, a comparison of manuscripts grouped according to centuries will furnish material for tracing the further development. On this manuscript basis, the development of the liturgy from its beginning to the end of the *Missa Catechumenorum* forms the subject of the fourth lecture. Lecture five carries the account of development on to the end of the Institution; and the last lecture thence to the end of the liturgy. The manuscript basis for the liturgy of the seventeenth century consists of *Br. Mus. Or.* 545; for the liturgy of the eighteenth century, *Br. Mus. Or.* 546, and *Berlin Pet.* II. *Nachtr.* 36; and for the nineteenth century, *Br. Mus. Or.* 548, and *Berlin Ms. Or. quart.* 414; and for the present century, *Mercer* 3. In the discussion of special points in the liturgy such as, *e. g.,* the Creed, the evidence of other manuscripts, on the basis of collations, has been used. For the discussion of the Consecration, the Words of Institution and the Epicleses of the thirteen variant Anaphoras of the manuscript of the present service have been translated in full. After examining all the important Ethiopic liturgical manuscripts of Europe, it has not been considered scientific, even on the basis of many manuscripts representing any one century, to attempt a reconstruction of a text for that period. Such a text would be highly artificial because of the fact that variants in manuscripts representing any one period are likely to represent variant uses in different districts during that period, and not variants in a standard service. Of course obvious errors in one manuscript have been corrected by comparison with other manuscripts, without regard to the period which they represent. It has been considered safer and more scientific to choose, as already indicated, one or more of the best manuscripts to represent each century, and then to take the service represented by these as the standard for that particular period, making obvious corrections from other manuscripts when necessary; for at present we do not know enough of the history of our manuscripts to be able to group them according to localities.

The student who contemplates a study of the Ethiopic liturgies must prepare himself by acquiring a knowledge of the Ethiopic language; for, as already remarked, very little has been done by Western scholars on the liturgy of this Church. Armed with such a knowledge the student will find even now, in Europe, an extensive field for operation; for in the libraries and museums on the continent there are hundreds of Ethiopic liturgical manuscripts awaiting his industry. There are a few also in America; and wherever an Ethiopic monastery exists, whether in Jerusalem or in Abyssinia, there are others. Many of these manuscripts have never been catalogued, some of them never have been even examined by any Ethiopic scholar.

For the benefit of the future student, I have here made a register of all the catalogues and lists of Ethiopic manuscripts known and used by me:

d'Abbadie, A., Catalogue raisonné de mss. éth. à A. d'Abbadie, Paris, 1859.

Brockelmann, C., Katalog d. orient. Handschriften d. Stadtbib. zu Hamb., 1908.

Chaîne, M., Cat. des mss. éth. de la Coll. A. d'Abbadie, Paris, 1912.

" Inventaire sommarie des mss. éth. de Berlin, acquis depuis 1878 (Rev. de L'Orient Chrétien, 1912, No. 1).

" Cat. des mss. éth. de la Coll. Mondon-Vidailhet à la Bib. Nat., Paris, 1913.

" Cat. des mss. éth. des bibl. et musées de Paris, des départments et de collections privées (Rev. de L'Or. Chrét., 1914, No. 1).

Cohen, M., Mission linguistique en Abyssinie (1910-1911), Paris, 1912.

Dillmann, Cat. Cod. mss. Bib. Bodl. Oxon. Pars VII, 1848.

" Cat. Cod. mss. Mus. Brit. III, Lond. 1847.

" Verzeichniss d. abessin. Handschr. d. könig. Bibl. z. Berlin, 1878.

" Cod. orient. bibl. reg. Havniensis, Havniae, 1857.

Dorn, Ueber die aeth. Handschr. d. kais. Bibl. zu Petersburg (Bulletin de l'Acad. Imp. T. III, No. 10, 1837).

Duchesne-Fournet, J., Mission en Éth. (1901-1903), Paris, 1909.

Ewald, Ueber die aeth. Handschr. zu Tübingen, Z K D M, Vol. V.

Flemming, I., Die neue Sammlung abess. Handschr. auf. d. könig. Bibl. zu Berlin (Zentralb. für Bibliothekswesen, 1906).

Goldschmidt, L., Die abess. Handschr. d. Stadtbib. zu Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, 1897.

Goodspeed, E. I., Ethiopic mss. from the Coll. of W. Eames (A J S L, XX, 235-244).

Grébaut, S., Les mss. éth. de M. E. Delorme (Rev. de L' Or. Chrét., 1912, No. 2, 1914, No. 2).

Guidi, I., Cat. dei Cod. Sir. Arab. Etiop. Turch. e Copti della Bib. Angelica (Cat. dei Cod. Or. di alcune Bib. d' Italia, Firenzi, 1878).

Littmann, E., Zeitschrift für Assyriologie XV-XVI (Describes two collections at Jerusalem).

Mai, A., Script. Veterum Nova Coll. e Vaticanis cod. edita, Tom. V (2), Roma, 1831.

Nau, F., Notices des mss. syr. éth. et mand. entrés à la Bib. nat. de Paris depuis l'édition des catalogues (Rev. de L'Or. Chrét., 1911, No. 3).

Petrograd, Cat. des mss. or. de la Bib. impér. de St. Pétersbourg, 1852.

Rhodokanakis, N., Die aeth. Handschr. d. K. K. Hofbib. zu Wien (Sitzungsb. d. K. Ak. d. Wiss. in Wien; phil.-hist. Kl., Bd. 151, Abh. 4).

Roediger, Aeth. Handschr. Cat. cod. mss. bibl. reg. Monacensis, Monachii, 1875.

Rossini, C. C., I mss. Ethiop. della mon. Cattolica di Cheren (Rendiconti della Reale Accad. dei Lincei Cl. Scienze Morali, Stor. e Filolog. Serie V, Vol. XIII).

" Notices sur les mss. éth. de la Coll. d'Abbadie (Journal Asiatique, 1912-1913).

" Bolletins della Soc. Geografica Ital., Serie IV, Vol. XI, Par. II, 1910.

Touraïev, B., Mss. éth. du Château Impér. de Gatchina (Mém. de la Soc. Or. de la Soc. arch. impér. russe XIII).

" The Eth. mss. of St. Petersburg (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1906.

Vollers, K., Katalog der Handschr. d. Univ. bib. zu Leipzig, 1906.

Wright, W., Cat. eth. mss. in the Br. Museum, Lond. 1877.

Zettersteén, Die abess. Handschr. d. K. Univ. Bib. zu Upsala (Z D M G, 1899, Vol. 53).

Zotenberg, Cat. des. mss. éth. de la Bibl. Nat., Paris, 1877.

Compare in General:

Bezold, C., Archiv. f. Religionswissensch. XV, 1912, Aethiop. Handschriftensammlungen.

Rossini, C. C., Rendiconti Accad. Lincei, Ser. V, Vol. VIII, 1899 (a conspectus of all the Eth. mss. known to exist in Europe—over 1,200).

In the John Rylands Library in Manchester, England, there are, among other Ethiopic MSS., two liturgical MSS.; and in Camb. Univ. Library, England, there is one. These have not yet been catalogued. At Oxford, in the Bodl. Library, there is a "Handlist (in manuscript) of Aethiopic MSS." which shows six liturgical MSS., some of which are very valuable.

2. THE BACKGROUND OF THE CHRISTIAN LITURGY

Let us begin our study of the origin of liturgical worship with a definition of the term "liturgy." Our word "liturgy" comes from the classical Greek word λειτουργία, which is a compound word, and in its original meaning denotes a public duty or service to the state, performed by a citizen. The word is made up of two elements λεῖτος, public, and ἔργω, an obsolete present of a verb which appears in the future as ἔρξω, and means "to do." From this combination was derived the word λειτουργός, which indicated a person of property chosen by the people of Athens to perform some public duty or service (λεῖτον ἔργον λειτουργεῖν), or to supply the necessities of state at his own expense, and hence it acquired the meaning of "a public servant." There are many derivatives of the word, such as λειτούργημα, "the performance of a public duty or service," and our word λειτουργία, the public duty or service itself. The word was later used of any general service of a public nature. The Greek version of the Old Testament uses the word to denote the public service of the temple (Ex. 38: 27, 39: 1, II Chron. 8: 14, etc.), and also in a religious sense to denote the function of the priests in the service of the temple (Joel 1: 9, 2: 17, etc.). The New Testament takes over the Old Testament use of the word (*e.g.* Lk. 1:23, Heb. 9:21), and in addition applies it to the worship of the Christian community (Acts 13:2); although it is frequently used in a figurative sense of good works (II Cor. 9:12, Phil. 2:17, 30). Among early Christian writers the word was used to denote either the whole service of God, corresponding to the official service of the temple (Clement *ad Cor.* 41), or the duties of sacred ministers (Clement *ad Cor.* 44; Eus. *H. E.* IV: 1; *Ap. Canons* 28.26). The next step in the development of the use of the word is found in the writings of Theodoret of the fifth century, where it is applied to the Eucharist in a restricted sense (*ad Ioann. Oec. Ep.* 146 (ed. Sirm. III. 1032). Not long thereafter, in the East, the term was normally restricted to this sense. At the present time in the Christian Church at large, the word is used in two senses, (1) to denote the whole complex of the official services of a church as opposed to private devotions, and (2) to denote the service of the Eucharist. In the former sense it is more commonly used in the Western, and in the latter in the Eastern Church. The word is used by Oriental Churches in the same way as the word "Mass" is used in the West. In the present work, therefore, the word "liturgy" is used to denote the order of service employed in the Eucharist, that is, the prayers and rites which go to make up that service. Moreover, the term is applied to the service used at the Eucharist, and not to the Eucharist itself.

Although we are not concerned in these lectures with doctrines and teachings in connection with the Eucharist, since the service employed at it is alone our concern; it is necessary for us, nevertheless, to define a term which we shall have occasion to use very frequently. The word "Eucharist," εὐχαριστία, as used in the Christian Church, originated in the thanksgiving pronounced by Christ at the Last Supper over the bread and wine. After the Church had adopted the rite of the Last Supper, she perpetuated it not only as a love-feast or communal meal, but also and especially as a "Thank-offering" or sacrificial service (cf. *Didaché* 9; Ignatius *Philad.* 4, *Smyrn.* 6; Chrysostom *in Eph.* III. 4). The earlier of these two ideas is the communal meal, the idea of communion or fellowship being perhaps the fundamental one in the rite. This Communion or fellowship is to be brought about by the partaking of bread and wine, the body and blood of Christ. This idea involved a further one, namely, the idea of sacrifice. The body and blood of Christ was given through sacrifice; and the memorial of that act partook of its sacrificial nature. The sacrificial character of the Lord's Supper, as food consecrated and dedicated to God in order that through it communion with God might be established—which is the final end of all sacrifice—is brought out by the analogy between the table of the Lord and the table of demons (I. Cor. 10:21) or the food of pagan sacrifices. Consequently, we find the term "sacrifice" applied to the rite of the Eucharist as early as the time of the author of the *Didaché* (ch. 14).

The idea of liturgical worship, as an attempt on man's part to place himself, by means of regulated prayer, in communion with his god, is a natural one. It has been adopted by the whole Christian Church as well as by other religious units, and, as we shall find, it is universal in time as well as place.

The existence of a nation of atheists has never been demonstrated. The most primitive peoples, both historically and culturally, have been found to be theistic (in the broad and non-technical sense of the term). The oldest human records we possess, as well as the oldest and most reliable traditions of the most ancient peoples, bear witness to the universality of theism in ancient times. The most savage modern peoples, likewise, worship a god or gods, though their idea of them may be very primitive. Thus, humanity seems inherently theistic.

Granted belief by man in the existence of a god, it necessarily follows that we must believe in an attempt, at the earliest stages in the growth of such a belief, to communicate with him. Such a communication between a man and his god we call prayer, whether it be praise and thanksgiving, entreaty and petition, promises, confession of sins, recitation of past benefits, or expressions of faith. The prayer would vary in quality in accordance with man's idea of his god. Nevertheless he would pray, if only to strike a bargain or to launch a threat. The student of ancient peoples, and of modern savages, finds prayer at all stages of cultural development.

The spoken word is only one way of expressing thought; for thought and sentiment express themselves in act. The power of the spoken word has always been recognized, so much so that from time to time it has been personified and even deified, but it has always been felt that its power could be considerably augmented by physical action. He who entreats his god feels his prayer intensified by definite acts, for action is a universal way of expressing thought. When the entreaty is the prayer of a community or collection of people, there arises the necessity of an organized method of expressing thought and its accompanying acts. Forms of prayer expressive of the common will, as well as commonly understood and conventional acts, must be developed. Though all such prayer may tend to become routine, it is none the less an expression of an earnest desire to communicate with the deity. Hence in the earliest times and among the most primitive peoples, set forms of prayer are the rule, and, in addition, acts are performed to accompany and support a ceremony, the nerve of which consists in action as well as speech.

Further, students of ancient peoples and of modern savages are unanimous in ascribing to them the custom of offering sacrifices to their gods. We are not here concerned with the origin and development of the sacrificial idea, but we merely record the fact that sacrifices formed a part of the methods, used by all ancient and savage peoples, of communicating with their gods. In short, sacrifice is "the key with which early man unlocks the gate through which he passes into the presence of his god, or through which the god comes forth to do man's bidding."[1] The same may be said of many modern peoples. And at the offering of sacrifices, no matter what the material of sacrifice may have been, prayer, accompanied by ceremonial, was always necessary.

The origin of liturgies—liturgies in the sense of premeditated and properly arranged public prayers, accompanied by appropriate acts expressive of the suppliant's sentiments, and often performed in connection with the offering of sacrifices—can be traced back to the earliest times as represented by the literary remains of ancient peoples, and also can be found in more or less developed form among the most savage of modern tribes.

Men who have made a study of modern savages and their religious customs tell us that liturgical prayers may be said to be the life of the faith of such tribes; and the same would probably be found true were we in a position to examine the methods of worship among ancient peoples during the earliest stages of their development.[2]

Of the religious customs of ancient cultured peoples, we can speak with more certainty and definiteness. Their religious literature shows them to have been theists without exception; and accounts of their liturgical prayers are exceedingly common.

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[1] D. C. Owen, *The Infancy of Religion*, Oxf. 1914.

[2] The literature of this subject is large and still rapidly growing. The student may, however, be referred to such works as: D. C. Brinton, *Religion of Primitive Peoples;* W. Matthews, *The Mountain Chant of the Navahoes;* E. H. Gomes, *Seventeen Years among the Sea Dyaks of Borneo.*

This is just what we should expect in view of what we know about the religious customs of civilized man at all stages of his development, as also about those of savage peoples.

Sumerian religious literature, though comparatively late in compilation, takes us back at least as many as twenty centuries before the Christian era, and there we find an elaborately organized liturgy, which it must have taken many centuries to develop. There is evidence of a good deal of magic, but nevertheless there is no doubt about the organized attempt on the part of the people to establish communication with their gods, whether with a view to coaxing, coercing, or respectfully and reverently supplicating them. The question is not one of magic on the one hand and true religion on the other; but as to whether the Sumerians really possessed a liturgical form of prayer, and to this question such investigations as those of Stephen Langdon in his *Babylonian Liturgies* give the answer. The Sumerian liturgical prayers were handed on to the Babylonians and Assyrians in the Sumerian tongue, which was used as a sacred liturgical language, and so became the authoritative means of communicating with the gods. There are extant many Babylonian and Assyrian reliefs which depict the very forms of worship, especially in reference to sacrifices, which became more stereotyped in a liturgical way as the centuries passed.[3]

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[3] Stephen Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies, Paris*, 1913; M. Jastrow, Jr., *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens,*

The Pyramid Texts of ancient Egypt contain innumerable prayers as well as charms, introduced by rubrical directions, thus forming a service highly liturgical in the truest sense of the term. In fact nothing is more common, in this earliest Egyptian religious literature (at least as early as 3000 B. C.), than liturgical prayers; and the many extant reliefs, representing every century from 3000 B. C. down to the dawn of Christianity, corroborate the evidence for liturgical worship found in the Pyramid Texts, and represent the devout Egyptian performing his acts of religious ritual, and accompanying them by the recitation of the proper prayers.[4]

The same ceremonious formalism, as we have seen in the case of Sumeria, Babylonia, Assyria and Egypt, characterizes ancient Chinese worship. The literature of the ancient Chinese is overloaded with prescriptions for right conduct in appearing before the gods. And while there is a good deal of magic, the desire to establish communication with the deity in an orderly manner is everywhere evident. In their works there are minute descriptions of sacrifices to be offered at stated seasons by persons of suitable rank and according to a set rubric.[5]

Giessen, 1905-1912; H. Zimmern, *Babylonians and Assyrians* (in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, where other literature is given).

[4] J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, New York, 1912; A. Erman, *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, London, 1907; E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead: The Papyrus of Ani*, London, 1913.

[5] J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, Vols.

The ritual treatises of ancient India, called the Brahmanas, give in detail the forms of Vedic worship. These writings, though in many ways representing a later age, are shown by the contents of the most ancient Hindu hymns to represent the characteristic features of the religious cults of the Vedic period. Hindus, from the earliest to the latest times, have been unable to conceive of prayer without some kind of accompanying ceremonial, and from time to time societies, such as the Çaktas, were formed, purposing, among other things, to perpetuate the rendition of liturgical service.[6]

Nor is Zoroastrianism an exception to the rule, for though not as liturgical in its religious services as Hinduism, it, nevertheless, has place for prayers with correct ceremonial, and even insists upon the exact performance of formal religious rites and the exact recitation of those long prayers which have been preserved in its religious texts.[7]

When we come to the history of early Cretan, Greek, and Roman worship, we find that there too ritual acts were always common, and while Cretan

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I-IV (not yet completed), 1892-1910; *The Religion of the Chinese*, 1910; *Religion in China*, 1912; J. Ross, *The Original Religion of China*, 1909; P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, 3 Aufl., Tübingen, 1905 (good for literature).

[6] A. Barth, *The Religions of India*, 3 ed., 1891; E. W. Hopkins, *The Religions of India*, 1895; A. Bergaigne, *La religion védique d'après les hymnes du Rig-Véda*, 3 vols., 1878-1883; de la Saussaye, *op. cit.;* for further literature G. F. Moore, *History of Religions*, Vol. I, New York, 1913.

[7] A. V. W. Jackson, *Die iranische Religion*, 1900, 1904.

and Greek worship was not as stereotyped rubrically as that of India it nevertheless usually consisted of prayers, ritual acts, and sacrifices.[8] On the other hand, we know that in early Roman worship the performance of the rites was regulated by the utmost ceremoniousness; and the smallest departure from the traditional form, in word or gesture, invalidated the whole service.[9]

The nearer background of the Christian liturgies is represented by the liturgical worship of the Hebrew and Jewish people. As the worship of the Hebrews and Jews before 70 A. D. was sacrificial, we should expect to find in Hebrew and Jewish literature much evidence of liturgical worship. As a matter of fact the Old Testament and other Jewish literature teems with religious liturgical material. From ancient times to the final destruction of the temple, sacrifices, accompanied by prayer and ritual acts, were offered, and were regarded as the natural expression of religious feeling. There is no need of recording in detail the many references, in Hebrew and Jewish literature, to sacrifices accompanied by definite forms of words to be used on special occasions (Dt. 26:3, 5-10), prayers, benedictions, the imposition of hands, bowing of the head, and ceremonial washing and change of dress. Although much of the literary material as it appears at present in the Old Testament is of a comparatively late date, very little being earlier than the time of Solomon, we may trust the tradition which teaches us that the two main divisions of Hebrew and Jewish worship—sacrifice, on the one hand, and instruction and prayer, on the other—have existed from the earliest days.[10] In Jewish times the Temple service consisted in the daily offering of a lamb on the altar of burnt offering with meal and wine, the daily offering of incense, and the reading of special psalms. On feast-days there were special services.

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[8] L.-F. Maury, *Histoire des religions de la Grèce antique*, 3 vols., 1857-59; A. Fairbanks, *Handbook of Greek Religion*, 1910.

[9] G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, 2 Aufl., 1912.

Long before the destruction of the Temple, a special Synagogue service had begun to develop, and in it the sacrifices of the Temple were in a way metaphorically represented, and the sacrificial idea was spiritualized.[11] At any rate, we know that as early as the time of Christ the Jews were accustomed to meet together in the synagogue for the purpose of common prayer, to read the sacred books, to chant psalms,[12] and to listen to a sermon on a subject supplied by the portion of Scripture previously read. This service gained for itself a permanent place in the religious life of the Jews, and, according to the Mishna, the set Synagogue service, not many years after the rise of Christianity at the latest, took the following form: 1. Recitation of the Shema (Dt. 6: 4-9, 11: 13-21, Nu. 15: 37-41); 2. Prayer; 3. Reading of Torah (V); 4. Reading of Prophet; 5. Benediction; 6. Sermon.

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[10] References to sacrifice: Gen. 4: 3-5, etc., etc. Prayer and instruction, Is. 1: 12-15; cf. Josephus *Contra Ap. ii*, 17; Acts 15: 21. Prayer in service, I Sam. 1: 10, I Kings 8: 12ff., Is. 56: 7. Formal prayer, Dt. 26: 5-13, Lev. 16: 21. Prayer during sacrifice, I Chron. 23: 30, Neh. 11: 17.

[11] W. O. E. Oesterley and G. H. Box, *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, New York, 1907.

[12] Oesterley, *The Psalms in the Jewish Church*, London, 1910.

The world in which Christianity arose was likewise the world in which many later forms of older religions were brought into close contact, and acted and reacted upon one another. There were the mystery religions of Ishtar and Tammuz in Babylonia, of Mithra in Persia, of Osiris, Isis, and Serapis in Egypt, of Ashtart and Eshmun in Phoenicia, of Aphrodite and Adonis in Syria, of Atargatis in Cilicia, of Cybele and Attis in Phrygia, and of Demeter and Dionysus in Greece and Thrace. With the exception of Mithraism, all these religions with more or less of sacramental rites had their home on the shores of the Mediterranean before the Christian era.[14] Their rites were all to a certain extent in a state of development, and continued so till centuries after the beginning of the Christian era; but the

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[13] E. König, *Geschichte der alttestamentlichen Religion*, Gutersloh, 1912; H. P. Smith, *The Religion of Israel*, New York, 1914; compare W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, for primitive Semitic religion; E. Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes*, 4 Aufl., Leipz., 1901-1909.

[14] S. J. Case, *The Evolution of Early Christianity*, Chicago, 1914 (good also for literature); S. Angus, *The Environment of Early Christianity*, New York, 1915; W. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, Göttingen, 1913.

essence and main outlines of the rites had their origin long before Christianity arose. They may, therefore, be taken as an element in the formation of the background of Christian liturgical worship.

Liturgical worship—the offering of formal prayers accompanied by ritual acts—was a common feature of all the mystery religions. Rites of a sacramental character, with purificatory ritual, the reading of scriptures claiming the authority of revelation, and the offering of prayer with symbolic acts are common to most of them.[15]

The above brief review of liturgical worship as found among primitive peoples at varying stages of cultural development, and especially among those who may in a way be considered the religious predecessors of the Christians, will, it is hoped, be sufficient to show that Christian liturgical worship grew up out of well prepared soil. The first converts to Christianity were people who were already accustomed to offer up prayers to the deity in a formal manner, accompanying these prayers by appropriate ritual acts.

The New Testament shows us a people vitalized by new ideals and with a new religious energy. Now these people, Jewish-Christians, following the example of their Master, at first not only attended the synagogues (Lk. 4:15, 16, 33ff, 6:6, Acts 9:20ff, Jn. 18:20, etc.), but also continued to go to the services of the Temple (Mk. 11:15, 14:49, Mt. 21:12, 13, Lk. 24:52, 53, Acts 2:46, 3:1, 5:21, 25, 42, 22:17, Jn. 18:20, etc.), where they were accustomed to take part in liturgical worship. They were thus used to two distinct forms of service. Now, as they gradually became more and more differentiated from their Jewish brethren, they began to meet separately for religious purposes. Instead of the service in the synagogue, the early Christians, both Jewish and Gentile, especially when the synagogue began to be closed to them, formed the habit of meeting together for the reading of psalms, for teaching, and for the gift of tongues (I Cor. 14:26f., cf. also I Thess. 5:27, Col. 3:16, 4:16, Acts 20:6, 7). There is evidence in the New Testament that they demanded more than the simple Synagogue-like service to compensate for what they had previously enjoyed. They had been somewhat accustomed to a form of sacrificial liturgical worship, and a service similar to the old Temple rite alone would satisfy them. And so we have several accounts of the institution of a service in which there was more of the old liturgical worship than there was in those gatherings for the reading of scripture and the saying of psalms. On the authority of the earliest Christian writers, we learn that Christ himself instituted this service. St. Paul leaves no doubt that the Eucharistic service, as he had received it, rested on the authority of Christ Himself (I Cor. 11: 23-26); and it is clear that St. Paul himself had established the rite in the Corinthian Church, as he had in all the communities of which he was the spiritual father, and that he regarded it as part of his apostolic commission so to do (I Cor. 11: 23, 15: 3).

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[15] Case, *op. cit.;* S. Cheetham, *The Mysteries Pagan and Christian,* London, 1897; C. Clemen, *Der Einfluss der Mysterienreligionen auf das älteste Christentum,* Giessen, 1913; P. D. Scott-Moncrieff, *Paganism and Christianity in Egypt,* Cambridge, 1913; W. M. Groton, *The Christian Eucharist and the Pagan Cults,* New York, 1914; Kennedy, *St. Paul and the Mystery Religions,* London, 1913.

The subject of the exact relationship of Pauline doctrine to pre-Pauline Christianity, and still more the original meaning of the actual Last Supper, as understood by the Apostles, is too complicated to be discussed in a brief *résumé*. St. Paul, however, says that on the night of his betrayal "the Lord Jesus . . . took bread," and, after thanksgiving, brake it with the words: "This is my body, which is (offered?) for you; do this in remembrance of me"; and that "after supper" he said a thanksgiving over the cup, giving it to them as "the new covenant" in his blood, and again bidding them "Do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me." St. Paul adds: "For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death till he come" (I Cor. 11: 23-26).

We thus find the following factors in St. Paul's account of the Institution: (1) communion with Christ, (2) memorial of his death, (3) a solemn proclamation of the "new covenant," and (4) a proclamation of Christ's coming again.

The first Christian rite, it seems, consisted of the following elements: (1) the giving of thanks over the bread and (perhaps) words of institution; (2) the thanksgiving over the wine and (perhaps) words of institution; (3) the breaking of the bread and pouring out of the wine; and (4) the giving of the bread and wine to the people. Possibly the elements were "consecrated" and distributed separately. The evidence of the oldest text of St. Luke may indicate that the wine was "consecrated" *before* the bread.[16]

According to the details of the institution of the rite and of the ceremonies connected with it, we ascribe to its founder, as St. Paul did, the intention of instituting a sacrificial rite. Such a rite would be easily comprehended by the early Christians, who had already been accustomed to similar religious services. The earliest specific Christian service, then, was a liturgical one with definite sacrificial colouring. The question whether the Last Supper was a Passover-meal[17] or not, does not alter the fact that, according to early Christian writers, Christ himself instituted a sacrificial rite and, in addition, commanded it to be repeated in memory of him; and the rite became the Church's model of the Eucharistic service, which we call the Christian liturgy.

As time passed, the form of this service crystallized, and more and more ritual acts and sacrificial expressions were added. Already, in New Testament times, there are to be found traces of ritual acts and sacrificial expressions which later became indispensable parts of the Christian liturgies. Such, for example, are the Kiss of Peace (I Cor. 16: 20, Rms. 16: 16, etc.), the Benediction (II Cor. 13: 14, etc.), the Absolution (Mt. 18: 18, etc.), the Salutation "The Lord be with you" (II Thes. 3: 16, etc.), the Great Intercession (I Tim. 2: 1), the liturgical use of "Amen" (I Cor. 14: 16), as well as references to an altar (I Cor. 10: 21, Heb. 13: 10), a chalice (I Cor. 10: 16, 21, etc.), the Fraction (I Cor. 10: 16), etc.

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[16] At least in one place, cf. the *Didaché*.

[17] Compare G. H. Box, *The Jewish Antecedents of the Eucharist*, (Jr. Th. Studies, III. (1902), 357ff.); also, Keating, *The Agapé and the Eucharist*, London, 1901; H. G. Gummey, *The Consecration of the Eucharist*, Phila., 1908.

As we have seen, the origin of the Christian liturgy is ascribed to Christ. But from time to time additions were made to the nucleus preserved in the New Testament. New prayers developed, new acts of ritual were introduced, and perhaps new sacrificial conceptions were added. Although its origin may be safely assumed to be Christian, nevertheless the liturgy had a prototype, not only primarily in Jewish rites, but also indirectly, in the services of ancient peoples. The nucleus, then, was Christian, not unlike previous rites in form; but its later development, as we shall see, was much influenced by the uses of those peoples from whom Christianity made its converts, and with whom Christians came into contact. The first Christians were Jews. These Jews would naturally bring with them forms of worship to which they had been accustomed, and which would gradually become a part of the new Christian rite, since the first Christians had no particular desire to break with Judaism in any essential way. Now the Jewish services to which the early Christians, before their conversion, had been accustomed were: (1) the Synagogue service which, as early as the time of Christ,[18] consisted of, (a) the recitation of the Shema (Dt. 6:4-9, 11:13-21; Nu. 15:37-41), (b) prayers, (c) reading of the Torah, (d) reading of the Prophets, (e) the paraphrase and discourse; and (2) the service of the Temple, which consisted of, (a) the daily offering of a sacrifice with meal and wine, (b) daily offering of incense, (c) special psalms, and (d) special services on feast-days. As not only the early Christians but also the apostles were Jews, it would be natural to expect that, in regulating the new rite, a form similar to, if not actually based upon, earlier Jewish forms would either consciously or unconsciously be adopted. We need only compare the above skeleton of Jewish formal service with the earliest forms of the Eastern liturgy, to see that the Synagogue-form of service has its counterpart in the Pro-anaphora, and the Temple form in the Anaphora. But just as these two forms were separate in Jewish worship, so, as we shall see, the counterparts remained separate in the Church liturgy, till about the fourth century A. D. Further, not only was the development of this form of Christian liturgical worship strongly influenced by Jewish liturgical forms, but the very wording of parts of the service could not, in the nature of the case, have escaped

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[18] While the evidence of Mishna (Megill. 4: 3-6) belongs to the second century A. D., Luke 4: 17-21 looks as if this were the order also in our Lord's day.

Jewish influence. The sacred literature of the earliest Christians and the Jews was co-extensive. The sacrificial phraseology of the Old Testament would be used by Christians as well as by Jews; and the same prayer-forms would serve both. Accordingly, we find that the earliest extant Christian prayers are exceedingly Jewish in form and content.[19] In this connection, the following Jewish passover prayer is instructive: "Wherefore we are bound to confess, praise, glorify, honour, exalt, celebrate and bless, extol and magnify, him who wrought for our fathers and for us all these wonders. He brought us forth from slavery to liberty, from sadness to joy, from grief to festival, from darkness into great light, from subjection to redemption, and we say before him, Alleluia." (Pes. X, 5c.) Finally, there is abundant evidence that the Christian Church arose out of Judaism and took with it, in its development, many Jewish forms, expressions, and ideas. The writings of the earliest Church fathers, such as Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and St. Clement, show that the Eucharistic service in their day was very similar in form to the Jewish service. The Jewish form of blessing used at sacred meals and on great festivals had its counterpart in the thanksgiving over the bread and wine in the early Eucharistic service; the sacrificial language of Judaism became that of the Church—churches even being called synagogues by early Christian writers (e.g., Ignatius, *Epistle to Polycarp,* Cap. iv); but the memorial idea in the Christian Eucharist as compared with anything in Judaism[20] was a new one.

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[19] Michel, *Gebet und Bild in Frühchristlicher Zeit*, Leipzig, 1902.

As the early Church grew, more and more converts were made outside of Judaism. These converts had already owed allegiance to other religions, and had been accustomed to definite religious ceremonies. It is not to be assumed that such converts stripped themselves of all previous religious habits and ways of thinking; but on the contrary it would be expected that they would bring with them, and retain, many points of religious ritual, as well as religious ideas. A pagan who had knelt in prayer or lifted his hands to his god in a temple would be expected to do the same when he became a Christian, and so it has been disputed by many modern students whether the Christian liturgy came entirely from Judaism or was merely an adoption of the sacrificial meal from the pagan mysteries.[21] Neither contention is probably correct, for while the earliest Christians derived their chief religious heritage directly from their

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[20] Such memorial ideas were not unknown to the Hellenic mind.

[21] J. L. Bernard, *The Synagogue and the Church,* London, 1842; Bickell, *Messe und Pascha,* Maintz, 1872; G. H. Box, *The Jewish Antecedents of the Eucharist* (*Jr. Th. Studies,* III); E. F. von der Goltz, *Tischgebete und Abendmahlsgebete in der altchristl. und in der griech. Kirche,* Leipzig, 1905; P. Gardner, *The Origin of the Lord's Supper,* Lond., 1893; F. Cabrol, *Les Origines liturgiques,* Paris, 1906; Frankland, *The Early Eucharist,* Lond., 1902.

Palestinian environment—for New Testament writers believed that their religion had a substantial foundation in Judaism—and while St. Peter and his followers clung closely to Judaism, we have sufficient evidence to show that St. Paul and his followers tended to introduce Gentile elements and to adapt Christianity to their surroundings. The truth, no doubt, is that the early Christian liturgy arose out of a combination of Jewish and Gentile elements, with much matter which was purely Christian; and that all three were welded together by new life and force.

We have had reason to believe, as we have said, that Judaism was a weighty factor in the formation of the early Christian liturgy. On the other hand, Gentile influence was not absent; for early Christian systems, before they were fully worked out, came in contact with heathen customs and unconsciously absorbed many of them. It cannot be conceived that "Christian missionaries were at liberty to create all religious data *de novo,*"[22] for they had to use a language intelligible to their constituents. Renan, Harnack, Sabatier and others go so far as to say that the Christian ritual of the fourth century A. D. is derived from paganism and Gnosticism. They have in mind the fact that there were Dionysiac-Orphic societies, similar to the early Christian Church, with rites having the character of purification, scriptures claiming the authority of revelation, symbols and sacraments; Eleusinian rites of a sacramental character; rites connected with the services of the *Magna Mater,* in which were sacraments of food and wine; Syrian rites where the fish sacred to Atargatis was symbolically and sacramentally used; Egyptian rites where (according to the demotic magical papyri of London and Leiden, which are nearly contemporary in origin with the primitive Church) there occur significant features, namely, the drinking of the blood of Osiris in a cup of wine, and the drama of the death and resurrection of that god, as enacted at great centers of religious culture; and Mithraic ceremonies, as depicted on a recently discovered relief, showing an oblation of bread and probably of wine. Then, Gnosticism has been considered the source of the sacrificial system of the early Church. Finally, acts of ritual, characteristic of every possible oriental rite, have had their champions who claim them as the originals of Christian liturgical worship. The fact of the matter, however, as above stated, is that early Christianity was syncretistic, having its rise in the lap of Judaism (although rejecting much of that system, *e. g.,* circumcision, specific Jewish feasts, etc., while keeping the sacred books, and form of assemblage, etc.), making converts from different Gentile sects, and making use, by adoption and adaptation, of many and various forms of religious expression. That is, Christianity was actively assimilative; but, before paganism began effectually to influence Christianity, the Christian sacramental system had taken form. So far as Gnosticism is concerned, it is much more likely that

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[22] Case, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

Christianity was the influencing agent, giving to Gnosticism the person of Christ, although neither did Gnosticism derive its whole sacramental system from Christianity, nor Christianity from Gnosticism.[23]

The background of Christianity represents liturgical worship as an integral part of the religious rites of all ancient peoples, and especially of the Judaism out of which Christianity arose. Just as Christianity began at Jerusalem, was extended by the Apostles through the Jewish communities of the Roman Empire, and thus reached the pagan world; so the newly established society organized its form of worship after the pattern of the Jewish liturgy; and, according as it came into contact with pagan rites, assimilated or rejected the religious practices of its converts as need dictated; but at the same time it breathed new life into the old forms, attaching new meaning to them, and creating *de novo* whenever circumstances demanded, according to the needs of a living and growing organism.

A liturgy, in the sense of premeditated and properly arranged prayers, accompanied by appropriate acts representing the whole complex of the official services of a community, has been found in different stages of development among all peoples whose religious customs have been studied. This, together with the elements of a liturgy in the New Testament and in early Christianity, forms the background out of which grew the liturgy of the Christian Church. It was not, however, until the Christian era that the term "liturgy" was used in the narrower sense of the word—in the sense in which it will be used in the main part of this work—to denote the specific Christian service of communion and sacrifice.

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[23] Renan, *The Influence of the Institutions, Thought, and Culture of Rome on Christianity*, London, 1880; Uhlhorn, *Der Kampf des Christentums mit dem Heidentum*, Stuttgart, 1899; Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, 1906; Duchesne, *Early History of the Christian Church*, London, 1909; Groton, *op. cit;* Heitmüller, *Taufe und Abendmahl im Urchristentum*, Tübingen, 1911; for further literature see Case, *The Evolution of Early Christianity*, Chicago, 1914, pp. 191ff.

LECTURE II.

THE CHRISTIAN LITURGY OF THE FIRST FOUR CENTURIES

So FAR as our evidence goes there were no liturgical books in use from the beginning of Christianity till about the end of the fourth century; except the Bible, from which lessons were read and psalms sung. No liturgical books were written during the first three centuries, or if they were they have not survived. The earliest services were probably oral; accounting for the fact that in the reign of Diocletian, ritual books, which would have been treated like other Christian books had they existed, are never referred to as having been burned. Moreover, no mention is ever made of such books in the acts of the martyrs, nor can we imagine that the liturgy had assumed any definite form during the first century or two.[1] It was rather a fluid rite, founded upon the account of the last Supper, combined with a Christianized synagogue service, showing, however, a certain uniformity of type. Of course, as time passed, certain parts of the service were written as aids to the celebrant's memory; such would be the Diptychs, containing the list of individuals and churches for whom prayers were desired; next would be the collection of prayers said by the celebrant; then selections for readers and singers; and, finally, rubrical directions. These different parts would exist separately, and would have no value for any other church or district than that for which they were primarily compiled. Such collections, however, would continue to be made, and according as the influence of the church possessing them grew, and extended to other centers, so they would be adopted by missions and dependent churches. If such a collection happened to grow up in the chief church of an ecclesiastical area or diocese, it would be natural that, after a time, it should gain the allegiance of all the churches in that area. This we know pretty well to have been the way in which the early liturgies grew, every diocese, at first, possessing its own liturgy. However, all the different liturgical usages had one nucleus. It was the form of service preserved in the New Testament, and especially the *εὐχαριστία* or "thanksgiving," based on the "giving of thanks" at the Last Supper.

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[1] The question of the age of the earliest written liturgies has been discussed by Renaudot, *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*, 2nd Ed., Frankfurt, 1847, Vol. I. pp. ixff.; Daniel, *Codex liturgicus* IV, Leipzig, 1853, pp. 25ff.; Probst, *Die ältesten römischen Sakramentarien und Ordines*, Münster, 1892, pp. 1ff.; Fortescue, *Liturgical Books* (Catholic Encyclopaedia).

Immediately after the founding and establishment of the Church, the essential nucleus of the service began to grow in detail. The question of importance for us now is, how we are to reconstruct a representative picture of what the liturgy was at different periods, up to the time when it assumed a definite form.[2] Our material will allow us to get only a glimpse of the liturgy at two general periods previous to the end of the fourth century; namely, during the latter end of the first and the whole of the second centuries; and during the third and fourth centuries. For the former period we have a few references in the New Testament, besides the Epistles of St. Clement and St. Barnabas, the *Didaché,* the Epistles of Ignatius, Pliny's letter to Trajan, Justin Martyr, St. Polycarp, Shepherd of Hermas, Irenaeus, and some of the Gnostic writers. For the latter period we have a good deal more information preserved, especially in the Church Orders, and also in the writings of the Fathers of that period.

1. The Liturgy of the Latter Part of the First and the Whole of the Second Centuries A. D.

In New Testament times, as we have seen, most of the essential elements of the later Eucharistic service were present; namely, the reading of scripture, the use of psalms and hymns, a sermon, prayers, consecration, and communion. Soon after the institution of the rite, early Christians assembled at places set apart (I Cor. 11: 20, 14: 23; Heb. 10: 25), especially on the first day of the week (Acts 20: 7), to repeat what their Master had commanded them, and what they considered to be the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship (Acts 2:42). As time passed, rules were drawn up for the due celebration of the rite (I Cor. 11:4, 5, 14:19, 34, 35, 40), and additions and changes were made from time to time. The practice of bringing provisions for the holy meal, as was done at Corinth, was latter continued in the "Thanksgiving" or "Oblation of Gifts" of the Eucharistic service as described by Clement, the *Didaché,* Justin, and Irenaeus; and the reading of the Apostles' letters at gatherings (I Thes. 5:27; Col. 4:16) was continued in the later forms of the liturgy; the "Kiss of Peace," mentioned several times in the New Testament (I Thes. 5:26; I Cor. 16:20; II Cor. 13:12; I Pet. 5:14), in later times became a prominent part of the liturgical service; the practice of alms-giving (I Cor. 16:1f; II Cor. 8, 9, etc.) later became an established custom in connection with the Eucharist; and finally, the sacrificial language of St. Paul, and of the writers of Hebrews and of the Apocalypse, became part and parcel of the early liturgy.

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[2] Probst, *Liturgie der drei ersten Jahrhunderte,* Tübingen, 1870; *ibid., Liturgie des vierten Jahrhunderts,* München, 1893; Srawley, *The Early History of the Liturgy,* Cambridge, 1913; Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Ante-Nicene Church,* Lond., 1897; Woolley, *The Liturgy of the Primitive Church,* Cambridge, 1910; etc.

We now come to a consideration of the liturgical material found in writings of the second century. No author of this period has left us an actual form of the liturgy as used in his day and vicinity. Perhaps no such set form existed, the liturgy itself being yet unformed and in a fluid state. There are, however, many references to the Eucharistic service, and some prayers which, by comparison with the actual service of later days, we know, contain glimpses of what the

Eucharistic service was during the second century; such, for example, is a long liturgical prayer found in Clement of Rome, c. 95 A. D., which is not only quite Jewish in terminology, but also reminds one of an Anaphoral, especially in the passage about creation, which is almost in the style of a Preface.

The *Didaché,* or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, is a manual of instruction for proselytes, most likely adopted from the Synagogue by early Christianity and about 110-160 A. D. transformed into a Church manual. The latter portion of the book gives forms of prayer to be used in connection with the "thank-offering" or "Eucharist."[3] These prayers were adaptations of the Jewish benediction over a meal. The prayer over the cup reads, "We give thanks to thee, our Father, for the holy wine of David thy servant, which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy servant." This is in reality the Jewish benediction over the wine—"Blessed be thou who hast created the fruit of the vine"—in a Christianized form. The thanksgiving over the broken bread reads, "We give thanks to thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy servant. As this broken bread, scattered upon the mountains and gathered together, became one, so let thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy Kingdom." Over the meal,

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[3] For the question as to whether the Eucharist is dealt with in this work see, J. H. Srawley, *The Early History of the Liturgy,* Cambridge, 1913.

"We thank thee, O holy Father, for thy holy name which thou hast caused to dwell (*κατεσκήνωσας*, a reference to the Shekinah) in our hearts, and for the knowledge through Jesus thy servant. Thou, Almighty Lord, didst make all things for thy name's sake; thou gavest food and drink to men for enjoyment that they might give thanks to thee; but to us thou didst freely give spiritual food and drink, and life eternal through thy servant. . . . Remember, O Lord, thy Church to deliver her from all evil and to perfect her in love of thee, and gather her together from the four winds, sanctified for thy Kingdom which thou didst prepare for her. Let grace come and let this world pass away. Hosanna to the Son of David" (9-10:6). The original Jewish benediction over a meal was a thanksgiving for the food and likewise for the word of God, and for the Torah, as means of spiritual nurture, ending with a prayer for the restitution of the kingdom of David.

We have reference in this work, then, to the following liturgical elements: (a) prayer over the broken bread; (b) prayer over the cup; and (c) thanksgiving after reception. There is evidence also that the author was acquainted with the custom of allowing only the baptized to communicate (Ch. 9), and with the use of the liturgical "Amen" (Ch. 10). The direction concerning the prophets, who are to "give thanks as much as they will" (Ch. 10), throws an interesting light upon the nature of prayer-forms, all of which had not yet become stereotyped, but were often extemporaneous (Compare Justin, *Apol.*, I. 6, 65; Clement, *First Epistle*, 59-61).[4]

The Epistles of St. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch 110-117 A. D., while containing a few references to the Eucharist and its position in public worship, give us no idea of the order of the service as he knew it. He emphasizes, however, the conception of the Eucharist as a common feast (*Philad.* 4; *Smyrn.* 6). Nor do they inform us whether the Agapé has yet been separated from the Eucharist; neither are we certain that the reference in Pliny's letter to Trajan settles the question. The description of church worship, however, as given by Pliny (112 A. D.), though brief, is interesting: "They asserted that this was the sum and substance of their fault or their error; namely, that they were in the habit of meeting before dawn on a stated day, and singing alternately a hymn to Christ as to a god, and that they bound themselves by an oath (*sacramento*) not to commit any wicked deed, but that they would abstain from theft, and robbery, and adultery; that they would not break their word; and that they would not withhold a deposit when reclaimed. This done it was their practice, so they said, to separate, and then to meet together again for a meal, which, however, was of the ordinary kind, and quite harmless. But even from this they have desisted since my edict; in which, in pursuance of your commands, I had forbidden the existence of clubs" (*Epp.*, X, No. 97, ed. Frankf.,

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[4] Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, London, 1891.

1611). The common meal which took place later in the day has been taken to refer to the Eucharist; but the word *sacramentum* in Pliny's letter is used in early Christian writings not only to denote "a solemn oath," but also "a sacred ordinance," and may, as far as we can decide, be used in this latter sense here; which would make the Eucharist the earlier service of the day.

Justin Martyr in his First Apology, written about 150 A. D. in the time of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, gives two accounts of the Eucharist as he saw it at Rome. The first is an account (Chs. 65-66) of the Eucharist celebrated at a Baptismal service, the second (Ch. 67) describes that at a Sunday gathering. There are also several references to the liturgy in the dialogue with Trypho. The following is the order of the service known to Justin, if we may judge from the references to the Eucharistic service in his writings: (1) Lesson (67:3); (2) a Sermon by the bishop of president (64:4); (3) Prayer for all men (67:5, 65:1); (4) Kiss of Peace (65:2); (5) Offertory of bread and wine and water brought up by the deacons (67:5, 65:3); (6) Thanksgiving prayer of the bishop (67:5, 65:3, cf. *Dial.* 41); (7) Consecration (65:5, 66:2, 3); (8) Intercession for the people (67:5, 65:3); (9) Amen, by the people (67:5, 65:3); (10) Communion (67:5, 65:5). There is a reference to the collection of alms for the needy (67), but it is not known at what point in the service this was done. We likewise gather from the sketch which Justin gives of the Sunday Eucharist that the separation of the Agapé from the Eucharist had already been accomplished and that the Synagogue-like service of earlier days had established itself as the introductory portion of the liturgy. This is the first evidence we have of the juxtaposition of these two parts of the Eucharistic service, which were later known as the Pro-anaphora and Anaphora.

St. Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons, c. 180 A. D., in his treatise against heresies, says sufficient about the Eucharist to enable us to gather the following general outline of the service as it was in his day: (1) the offering of bread and wine, the wine being mixed with water (*adv. Haer.* IV, 17.5); (2) Thanksgiving pronounced over them (IV, 18.4); and (3) an Invocation of God (IV, 18.5; V. 2:3). In describing the liturgy celebrated by the Valentinian Marcus—which, from the point of view of later days, was heretical—Irenaeus makes it clear that the Gnostic Eucharist consisted of, at least, (1) a mixed cup of wine and water; (2) a Thanksgiving pronounced over it; and (3) words of Invocation, *i. e.*, the ἐπίκλησις (*adv. Haer.* I, 13:2).

We have now reviewed the most important writings containing any information about the Eucharist as it was celebrated by the Christians of the first two centuries A. D. There are in addition other works representing the same period, or a slightly later time; such as those of Athenagoras of Athens c. 177 and Theophilus of Antioch c. 180, the Gnostic Acts of John (c. 150-180 A. D.), the Pistis Sophia (beginning of the third century), and the Acts of Thomas (beginning of the third century), all of which contain references to some details of the Eucharist, but which are not of sufficient importance to be quoted in a brief *résumé.* By the beginning of the third century, then, the Eucharist had grown in importance as a special act of worship. The picture of it is clearer than in the New Testament; there is a definite and homogeneous ritual, prayers have been repeated till they have become stereotyped, and certain general themes are constant—such as the prayer of thanksgiving, an intercession for all kinds of people, and the profession of faith. There developed a tendency on the part of the new Churches to imitate the older ones, though certain local modifications also appeared. The Eucharist had assumed the general form which it later had in all the great liturgies, that is, with two important parts, (1) a preparatory service called the "service of the word," and (2) the main service, later called the Anaphora; and, in addition, special stress had come to be laid upon the idea of an invocation, whereby the change in the elements was considered to be accomplished. The sources which show this development most clearly are, as we have seen, Clement, the *Didaché,* Justin, and Irenaeus. The liturgy of the first two centuries must be considered uniform in type, still exceedingly fluid and liable to change in details; with a form varying with individual localities. In fact it was not until 506, at the Council of Agde,[5] that a canon was made providing that the same order should be equally observed in all Churches of the province and in all parts of the divine service. Then similar orders were given to metropolitan and, finally, to national Churches. For the first two centuries there is not sufficient material nor yet sufficient local colouring in what material there is to allow us to associate the fragmentary liturgical forms in these writings with the liturgy in use in any specific ecclesiastical area.

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[5] J. Bingham, *Origines Ecclesiasticae, or the Antiquities of the Christian Church,* Vols. 4-5, London, 1715-19.

2. The Liturgy of the Third and Fourth Centuries, or from the End of the Second to the Beginning of the Fifth Century.

The fluid rites of the first two centuries gradually crystallized into different liturgies in different ecclesiastical areas. The insistence on different points in different places brought about various rites which, though the same in outline, differed in details. Hence the rite used in Palestine and Syria would differ in detail from that in Egypt, and the rite in Egypt from that in Italy, and so on.

Beginning with the third century, however, it is possible for us, with the material at our disposal, to get a glimpse of what the liturgy was at the different great ecclesiastical centres of the Church. The sources for our study of the liturgy of this period consist of the writings of the Church Fathers and a series of works known as Church Orders, besides various other early works. In spite of the abundance of material, especially in the Church Orders, we have no liturgy which was at any time or place in actual use. Even the liturgy in the Apostolic Constitutions, the latest of the Church Orders, was probably never used by any church. What we have in these sources are full descriptions of liturgical use, and the record of prayers used at Eucharistic services. Further, while we are not absolutely certain of the particular ecclesiastical centre represented by one or two of the Church Orders, as *e. g.*, the dispute as to whether the so-called *Ethiopic Church Orders* and the *Testament of Our Lord* represent ritual practices of Antioch or Alexandria,[6] yet with the aid of evidence from those Church Orders which we can definitely locate, and by comparison with the liturgical contents of Church Fathers representing known centres, we are enabled to classify our material in such a way as to sketch an outline of the liturgy which came to be used at most of the important centres of Church influence.

A word should first be said about the Church Orders, which, in chronological order, are as follows: the *Didaché,* the *Apostolic Church Order* (the *Apostolic Canons*), the *Didascalia,* the *Testament of Our Lord,* the *Egyptian Heptateuch,* the *Ethiopic Statutes,* the *Verona Latin Fragments,* the *Canons of Hippolytus,* the *Constitutions of Hippolytus* or the ἐπιτομή, and the *Apostolic Constitutions.* As we shall see, there will be no need of making use of all the liturgical material in all of these Church Orders, for there is much duplication. The *Apostolic Constitu-*

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[6] Srawley, *op. cit.,* p. 47.

tions is a fourth century pseudo-apostolic collection consisting of eight books; books 1-6 are an edition of the *Didascalia,* a lost treatise of the third century, an early form of which is extant in Syriac; book 7 is merely an amplification of the *Didaché,* and the *Didaché* was itself a source of the *Didascalia,* Apostolic Constitutions 1-6 and 7 being very similar; book 8 is the most complete form of Church Order which we possess, and it contains the liturgy (called the Clementine) in its completest form. At the end of book 8 are added the *Canons of the Apostles.* The *Apostolic Church Order* is an enlarged form of the *Didaché* 1-6. The *Egyptian Heptateuch* or *Sahidic Ecclesiastical Canons* consists of seven books: book 1 is the same as the *Apostolic Church Order;* book 2 is called the *Coptic* or *Egyptian Church Order;* books 3-6 are a later edition of book 2 and are parallel to book 8 of the *Apostolic Constitutions;* and book 7 contains the *Canons of the Apostles* or *Apostolic Canons;* books 1-6 are also called the *Coptic Hexateuch.* The *Ethiopic Statutes* 1-21 are parallel to the *Apostolic Church Order,* books 22-48 are parallel to the *Ethiopic Church Order,* and books 49-72 are parallel to the *A. C. VIII.* The *Canons of Hippolytus* are an edition of book 2 of the *Egyptian Heptateuch;* the *Testament of Our Lord* is another edition of the same; the *Verona Latin Fragments* (67b-80) contain a Church Order which is very similar to the *Ethiopic Church Order* and forms a connecting link between the *Testament of Our Lord* and the other Orders; the *Constitutions of Hippolytus* are thought to be an *epitomé* or else a shortened form of a first draft of *A. C. VIII.*

After due classification of the above inter-related materials, it is found that there were in reality two general Church Orders, the one a later edition of the other, and the *A. C. VIII.* with its *epitomé* a final edition. The First Church Order consisted of the *Egyptian Heptateuch II.*, variant forms of which are: an Ethiopic version in the *Statutes of the Apostles*, the *Canons of Hippolytus*, the *Latin Verona Fragments*, and the *Testament of Our Lord*. The original text of the First Church Order was undoubtedly in Greek, and the other versions were made from the Greek, with the exception of the Ethiopic, which was made from the Coptic. The Coptic form is the oldest extant; though the Ethiopic[7] is the most complete, and contains the earliest perfect Anaphora. All the versions were made previous to 350. The Second Church Order consists of the *Egyptian Heptateuch III-VI*, which is a second edition of the First Church Order or the *Egyptian Heptateuch II.* It is represented in the *epitomé* of the *A. C. VIII* with some variations. Finally, the *A. C. VIII* with its *epitomé* is a third edition of the First Church Order.[8] In short, the First Church Order, originally written in Greek c. 250 A. D., but now extant in the Coptic *Egyptian Heptateuch,* was translated with variations into several languages for use in various places; the Second Church Order is merely a second edition of the First Church Order, itself, in turn, having been translated with variations into several languages; and the *A. C. VIII* is a third edition of this same First Church Order. So in reality there is but one Church Order, the original form of which is now lost; it was edited three times and each edition was translated into several different languages, and the oldest extant copy of it is the *Coptic Heptateuch,* and the youngest is the *A. C. VIII,* the former dating from the beginning and the latter from the second half of the fourth century.[9]

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[7] There are two copies of an Ethiopic translation made from a Coptic or an Arabic original in the British Museum, but they have not yet been published.

[8] For a full discussion of the chronological order of the three Church Orders see: Duchesne, *Christian Worship: its origin and evolution*, London, 1910; J. Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace*, London and New York, 1903; F. X. Funk, *Das Testament unseres Herrn und die verwandten*

Schriften, Mainz, 1901; A. J. Maclean, *The ancient Church Orders*, Cambridge, 1910; R. M. Woolley, *The Liturgy of the Primitive Church.* Cambridge, 1910.

[9] The chief works dealing with Church Orders, in addition to those mentioned in the preceding footnote, are: H. Achelis, *Die Canones Hippolyti* (*Texte und Unters.* VI, 4, Leipzig, 1891); Achelis-Fleming, *Die syrische Didaskalia* (*Texte und Unters.* XXV. 2, Leipzig, 1904); Arendzen, Articles on the *Testament of Our Lord* and the *Apostolic Church Order* in the *Journal of Theological Studies* II, III, London, 1901, 1902; Bigg, *The Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*, London, 1898; Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (abbreviated *LEW*), Vol. I *Eastern Liturgies*, Oxford, 1896; Brightman, *The Sacramentary of Sarapion of Thmuis,* in *Jr. Th. Studies*, I, 88f; Cooper-Maclean, *The Testament of Our Lord,* Edinburgh, 1902; De Lagarde, *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, Leipzig, 1862; De Lagarde, *Reliquiae juris ecclesiasticae antiquissimae*, Leipzig, 1856; De Lagarde,

For a study of the liturgy which was taking form in and about Jerusalem, we have the following sources: Eusebius, who died about 339; the *Mystagogic Catecheses* of Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catecheses* 19-23), 348; Jerome, who resided at Bethlehem from 386-420; and the *Pilgrimage of Etheria,*[10] about the end of the fourth century. Eusebius's references are of importance only in minor details, or in reference to conditions more fully described elsewhere; *e. g.*, his language implies a distinction between the *Missa Fidelium* and the *Missa Catechumenorum* (*Vita* Const. IV, 62), but the distinction is fully described by Etheria, who uses the word *missa* in connection with the Dismissal, and refers in addition to the

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Aegyptiaca, Göttingen, 1883; De Lagarde, *Didascalia Apostolorum Syriaca*, Leipzig, 1856; De Haneberg, *Canones Hippolyti*, Munich, 1870; Funk, *Die Apostol. Konstitutionen*, Rottenburg, 1891; Funk, *Das Testament unseres Herrn und die verwandten Schriften*, Mainz, 1901; Funk, *Didascalia et Const. Apostolorum*, Vol. I, Paderborn, 1905; Gibson, *The Didascalia Apostolorum* (*Horae Semiticae*, I, II), London, 1903; Harnack, *Sources of the Apostolic Canons*, London, 1895; Harnack, *Chronologie d. altchristl. Litteratur*, Leipzig, 1897; Hauler, *Didascalia Apostolorum Fragmenta Veronensia Latina*, Vol. I, Leipzig, 1900; Horner, *The Statutes of the Apostles*, London, 1904; Platt, *The Ethiopic Didascalia*, London, 1834; Rahmani, *Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi*, Mainz, 1899; Tattam, *The Apostolic Constitutions*, London, 1848; Ueltzen, *Const. Apostolicae*, Suerini et Rostochii, 1853; Wordsworth, three Articles on the *Test. of Our Lord* in *Church Quarterly Review*, January and April, 1900, and *Revue internat. de théologie*, Vol. 31, 1900.

[10] J. H. Bernard, *The Pilgrimage of S. Sylvia of Aquitania to Holy Places* (Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society), London, 1891. The writer's name was Etheria, not Sylvia.

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prayers and Benediction of the Catechumens. Nor are Jerome's writings of very much importance in this matter, though he speaks of the reading of the Gospel. It is to Cyril that we are indebted for a description of the Anaphora in particular. He merely refers to the reading of Lessons (*Procat.* 4, *Cat.* IV, 1) and a Sermon (*Procat.* 4, 11), and perhaps to the hearing of the Gospel (*Cat.* VI, 29), but he speaks quite fully of the *Missa Fidelium* (*Cat.* XXIII). The service known to Cyril may be outlined as follows:

1. The deacon brings water to the bishop and presbyters for the washing of hands, in connection with which Ps. 26: 6 was used.
2. The Kiss of Peace preceded by a salutation of the deacon: "Let us greet one another."
3. *Sursum Corda.*
4. *Sanctus.*
5. Invocation.
6. Intercessions.
7. Lord's Prayer with "Amen" by the people.
8. *Sancta Sanctis.*
9. Communion, Ps. 35: 9 sung during communion, and Amen.
10. Final Thanksgiving.

The sources for our study of the Eucharistic service as rendered in Syria are: the *Didascalia,* which was written in the third century in Syria, but whose exact source in Syria is not known; Origen, who died in 250 A. D., and should be taken as a witness to the rite of Syria in general and of Caesarea in particular (for his allusions to the Eucharist were written after he had begun his residence at Caesarea); then, St. Chrysostom, who resided at Antioch from 370-398.

The references to the Eucharist in the *Didascalia* are few and quite incidental, the most important being one to the Invocation (Achelis, *op. cit.,* p. 139; but see Funk, *op. cit.,* p. 370). Origen contains more references, though they also are incidental. He implies the existence of two chief parts in the liturgy (*in Luc. hom.* VII). He refers to the reading of Lessons and to a Sermon, after which prayers are said (*in Exod. hom.* XIII, 1; *c. Cels.* III, 50; *in Num. hom.* XX, 5); and then comes the Kiss of Peace (*in Rom.* X, 33), the offering of gifts of bread and wine, and the Words of Institution and the Consecration (*in Lev. hom.* XIII, 3). It is to St. Chrysostom that we must go for fuller information about the Syrian liturgy, although his references also are incidental. However, he shows that the liturgical formulae were becoming more and more stereotyped. He does not arrange his references in any particular order; but we can easily cull from his writings evidence that he was acquainted with the *Missa Catechumenorum,* beginning with "Peace be with you," and its response (*in Matt.* XXXII, 6). There were lessons from the Prophets and the New Testament (*in Rom.* XXIV, 3; *in Pentec.* 5; *in Ioann.* XI, 1), Psalms (Brightman, *op. cit.,* 477, n. 4), a Sermon (*adv. Iud.* III, 6; *in* I. *Cor.* 36:4), the Deacons' Litany, introduced by the formula "Let us pray" (*de Prophet. obscurit.* II, 5), and the Kiss of Peace (*de Compunct. ad Demetr.* I, 3). After that came the Anaphora, beginning with the Preface, which was preceded by a Salutation (*de s. Pentecoste,* I, 4); then the *Sursum Corda* (*de Poenitentia,* IX, 1); the preface to the Thanksgiving with response and the *Sanctus* (*in II Cor.* 18: 3; *de Bapt. Chr.* 4), Institution (*de Prod. Iud.* I, 6), Invocation (*in coem. appellat.* 3), Fraction (*in I Cor.* 24: 2), the Lord's Prayer (*in Eph.* 3: 5), and then probably another Litany (Srawley, *op. cit.,* p. 95); and finally, a Thanksgiving (*de Bapt. Chr.* 4) and Dismissal (*adv. Iud.* III, 6).

The liturgy in the *A. C.* is not to be discussed in connection with the question of Syrian liturgical forms, because of the uncertainty as to whether it really represents a pure Syrian usage, since it exhibits a great deal of colouring which is not Syrian, but quite definitely Egyptian.[11] Being also the latest form of the Church Orders, it has been considered more accurate to describe its liturgy after discussing that of the various ecclesiastical centres. In that way its cosmopolitan character will be best shown; and as it is the oldest extant complete order of the Eucharistic rite, it will serve as an introduction to the discussion of the great parent rites.

For the form of the service in the East Syriac Church, we have only the Anaphora of the liturgy of Addai and Mari, not later than 431 A. D., exhibiting a service more like what we shall find was used in Egypt, and quite different from the Jerusalem and Syrian rite. It is so overlaid, however, with later material, that a reconstruction of its early form has not so far been successfully carried out by liturgical scholars. For the ecclesiastical area of Laodicea, we have references to the liturgy in the Canons of that Church, c. 363. There is no formal arrangement of a liturgical service, but we find that the general outline of the service, as in the case of the services of Cappadocia and Constantinople, was the same as the liturgy of Syria and Jerusalem, and was as follows:

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[11] Baumstark, *Aegyptischer oder Antiochenischer Liturgietypus in* AK I-VII (*Oriens Christianus* VII, 388-407).

1. Old and New Testament Lessons (Can. 59), with a Psalm between each two Lessons (Can. 17, 15).
2. Sermon (Can. 19).
3. Prayer for and Dismissal of Catechumens (Can. 19).
4. Prayer of the Penitents and removal (Can. 19).
5. Three prayers for the Faithful (Can. 19).
6. Kiss of Peace (Can. 19).
7. Communion (Can. 19).

For a study of the liturgy of the Cappadocian Church, we have the works of the following: Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea, Gregory Thaumaturgus of Cappadocia, both of the third century; Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Gregory of Nyssa of the fourth century; also the canons of the Councils of Ancyra (314), Neocaesarea (c. 315) and Gangra (c. 358). References in these writings show the following to have been the general outline of the liturgy in the Cappadocian Church:

1. Lessons from the Old and New Testament with Psalms (Basil, *in Ps.* XXVIII, 7; *in Bap.* 1).
2. Sermon, preceded by "Peace be with you" (Greg. Naz. *Or.* XXII, 1; Basil, *Ep.* CCXVII, 75).

3. Prayer and dismissal of different classes of worshippers (Greg. Thaum. *Ep. Can.* 11).
4. Prayer of the Faithful (Ancyra, Can. 8).
5. Kiss of Peace (Basil, *Poenae in mon. delinq.* 38).
6. Offerings (Basil, *Ep. Can.* II, 22, 44; etc).
7. The deacon brings oblations to the altar (Caes. Naz., *Dial.* III, 169).
8. *Sanctus* (Greg. of Nyssa, *in Resurr. Chr.* III).
9. Institution (Basil, *de Spir. Sanct.* XXVII, 66).
10. Invocation (Basil, *op. cit.* XXVII, 66).
11. Fraction and Communion (Greg. Nyss., *Or. Cat* 37; Caes. Naz., *Dial.* III, 169; etc.).
12. Blessing (Greg. Naz., *Or.* XVIII, 29).

The writings of St. Chrysostom during his stay in Constantinople give us a general idea of the liturgy of that ecclesiastical area. They are supplemented by references in the writings of three Church historians of the fifth century, Socrates, Sozomen, and Philostorgius. The outline is as follows:

1. Salutation (*in Col.* III, 3).
2. Lessons from the Old and New Testament (*in Heb.* VIII, 4).
3. Sermon, preceded by a salutation (*in Col.* III, 3).
4. Dismissal of Catechumens (*in Col.* III, 3).
5. Prayer of the Faithful (*in Act. Ap.* XXXVII, 3).
6. *Sursum Corda* (*in Heb.* XXII, 3).
7. *Sanctus* (*in Col.* IX, 2).
8. Intercessions and Commemorations (*in Act. Ap.* XXI, 4).
9. The Lord's Prayer (*hom. in Eutrop.* 5).
10. *Sancta Sanctis* (*in Heb.* XVII, 5).
11. Communion (*in Heb.* XVII, 4).

For the liturgy of the North African Church of this period we must depend upon the writings of the following Church Fathers: Tertullian (†235), Cyprian (†258), Optatus (c. 363), and Augustine (c. 395). The writings of these Fathers show us a considerable development in the theology of the Eucharist, but with the exception of Augustine our sources for the reconstruction of an outline of the liturgy are very meagre. However, Augustine supplies what the others lack. The following is an outline of the liturgy on the basis of the writings of the Fathers of the North African Church, and especially those of St. Augustine:

1. Salutation (Serm. 49,8).
2. Lessons from the Old and New Testaments with Psalms (*Serm.* 200,2; Opt. *c. Donat.* VI, 6; *Serm.* 165,1, 176,1).
3. Sermon (*de Civ. Dei,* XXII, 8,22).
4. Dismissal of Catechumens (ibid, 8, 21).
5. Prayer of the Faithful (*Ep.* 217, 29).
6. Offertory and Psalms (*Ep.* 55,18,34; *Retract,* II, 11).
7. *Sursum Corda* (*Serm. inedit,* VI).
8. Intercessions and Commemorations (*Ep.* 149,2,16).
9. Consecration (*de Trin.,* III, 4; *Serm.* 227; *Serm.* 234,2).
10. Fraction (*Ep.* 149,2,16).
11. The Lord's Prayer (*Serm.* 110,5).
12. Salutation (*Pax Vobiscum*) (*Serm.* 227).
13. Kiss of Peace (*Serm.* 227).
14. Blessing (*Ep.* 149,2,16).
15. Communion, with Psalm (*En.* 2 *in Ps.* XXXIII, 10).
16. Thanksgiving (*Ep.* 149,2,16).

For the form of the liturgy of the Church at Rome in this period our sources are very scant. The writings of Jerome and a letter from Innocent I to Decentius in 416 are all we have, with the exception of some help from the *"Gelasian" Sacramentary* at the beginning of the eighth century. The material is really not sufficient to show the exact order of the liturgy, although, as we learn from the *"Gelasian" Sacramentary,* the service was very similar to that of North Africa, as represented by the writings of St. Augustine. For the Church in North Italy we have likewise very little material, though rather more satisfactory results can be obtained than in the case of the Roman Church. The writings of St. Ambrose of Milan (†397 A. D.), and the *de Sacramentis* of unknown authorship at the beginning of the fifth century, show us that the service in North Italy had somewhat like the following form:

1. Lessons from the Old and New Testament with Psalms (*in Ps.* CXVIII, 17.10; *Ep.* XXII, 4.7).
2. Sermon (*c. Auxent.* 26; *Ep.* LXIII, 10).
3. Dismissal of Catechumens (*Ep.* XX, 4).
4. Prayers of the Faithful (*Ep.* I, 2).
5. Offering (*in Ps.* CXVIII, *prol.* 2).
6. *Sanctus* (*de Spir. Sanct.* III, 16. 110).
7. Intercession (*de Sacram.* IV, 4.14).
8. Institution (*de Myst.* IX).
9. Invocation, perhaps (*de Spir. Sanct.* III, 16.112).
10. Amen after the Consecration (*de Myst.* IX, 54).
11. Kiss of Peace (*Ep.* XLI, 14.15).
12. Post-communion prayer and communion chant (*de Elia* X, 34).
13. Benediction (*in Ps.* XL, 36).

The writings of the Egyptian Fathers contain only a few vague references to the Eucharistic service. Clement of Alexandria[12] (†215) makes some allusions to the different parts of the service and to ritual acts, but furnishes no means for reconstructing the service as used in his day. Origen[13] (†254), the head of the catechetical school in Alexandria, lived in Caesarea, and his liturgical references show that the type of service to which he was accustomed was rather Syrian than Egyptian. The letters of Dionysius,[14] bishop of Alexandria (†265), contain a few allusions to the Eucharist, such as the Eucharistic prayer with the Amen at its close; but, again, no reconstruction can be made. A somewhat clearer idea of the liturgy of their day is given by the Church Fathers of the fourth century, Athanasius of Alexandria (†373), Peter of Alexandria (†311), Sozomen (†448), Cyril of Alexandria (†444), Timothy of Alexandria (c. 460), Theophilus (†412), and Synesius (†414). From them, and especially from Athanasius[15] and Cyril of Alexandria, we learn that the salutation "Peace be with you" was used; and that the service consisted of Lessons, Psalms, Intercession, Oblation, *Anamnesis,* Invocation of the Holy Spirit (Peter of Alexandria), of the Logos (Athanasius), Fraction, Lord's Prayer, and Dismissal. Yet we can find in these writings no exact outline of the service as it existed in Egypt during the third and fourth centuries. The Church Orders, however, which we shall take up next, supply more definite material.

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[12] Probst, *Liturgie der drei ersten Jahrhunderte,* Tübingen, 1870, 130-141.

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[13] Probst, *op. cit.,* 141-174; 334-341; Cabrol-Leclercq, *Monumenta eccl. lit.* I, Paris, 1900-1902.

[14] Cabrol-Leclercq, *op. cit;* Feltoë, *Letters and other remains of Dionysius of Alex.,* Camb., 1904.

[15] Probst, *Liturgie des vierten Jahrhunderts,* München, 1893, 106-125; cf. Brightman, *LEW,* Appendix.

Those Church Orders which contain useful liturgical material are: (1) the *Ethiopic Church Order,*[16] redacted in Alexandria shortly after the time of Clement,[17] containing the earliest complete Anaphora; the *Verona fragments,*[18] a Latin version of the foregoing, made, however, independently of the Ethiopic version; the Anaphora of the *Ethiopic Church Order,* which is the foundation of the Anaphora of the Apostles, the normal Anaphora of the Ethiopic Church; (2) the *Testament of Our Lord,*[19] closely related to the *Ethiopic Church Order* and containing an Anaphora from which is derived the Ethiopic *Anaphora of Our Lord;*[20] and (3) the *Sahidic Eccl. Canon 64* containing valuable rubrics on the service.[21] A more detailed account of the liturgical forms of (1) and (2) will appear in the next lecture, since the service which they contain left its mark on the Church of Abyssinia. The *Ethiopic Church Order* describes a Eucharistic service used at the consecration of a bishop. The order of service after the consecration is as follows:[22]

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[16] For the text, see Brightman, *LEW.* 189-193; cf. also Woolley, *op. cit;* Maclean, *op. cit;* and for a discussion of the colouring of the liturgical material which it contains, Funk, *Das Testament unseres Herrn;* Bishop in *Jr. Th. Studies* XIV, 56; and Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, pp. 353f.

[17] Schermann, *Aegyptische Abendmahlsliturgien des ersten Jahrhunderts*, Paderborn, 1912.

[18] Hauler, *Didascaliae*, I.

[19] Cooper-Maclean, *The Testament of Our Lord;* review by W. H. Kent, O. S. C., of *Testamentum Domini Nostri J. C.* by Rahmani, Patriarch of Antioch, 1899, in *Dublin Review* Vol. 126 (1900) pp. 257ff.

[20] Cooper-Maclean, *op. cit.*, Appendix I.

[21] For the text, see Brightman, *LEW*, Appendix A, 1, pp. 461-463; see also Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, p. 23; and Bishop, *Jr. Th. Studies,* XIV, 56.

1. Kiss of Peace.
2. The deacons bring oblations.
3. Thanksgiving, prefaced by "The Lord be with you," "And with thy spirit."
4. Preface: "Lift up your hearts."
   "We have them with the Lord."
   "Let us give thanks to the Lord."
   "It is meet and right."
5. Eucharistic thanksgiving, consisting of a commemoration of the Incarnation, Passion, and Institution.
6. *Anamnesis* and Oblation.
7. Invocation.
8. Doxology of the people and Amen.
9. Two prayers for communicants by the bishop, and a bidding prayer by the deacon.
10. Blessing.
11. *Sancta Sanctis.*
12. Communion, preceded by a salutation.
13. Thanksgiving.
14. Imposition of hands with prayer by the presbyter.
15. Salutation by the bishop.
16. Dismissal by the deacon.

The same Church Order contains an account of a Eucharistic service used at Baptism.[23] This adds a few details to the above account, and mentions the giving of milk and honey to the newly-baptized at their communion. The *Verona Fragments* add to the Invocation an ascription of praise to the Trinity, and a blessing of oil, cheese and olives, but nothing of further importance.[24] The *Testament of Our Lord* describes a service very similar, as would be expected, to that in the *Ethiopic Church Order,* and requires no particular discussion at this point.

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[22] Hauler, *op. cit.*, pp. 155f.

[23] Hauler, *op. cit.*, pp. 155f.

Besides the writings of the Egyptian Church Fathers and the Church Orders, we have two other important sources for a study of the liturgy of this period. They are (1) the *Sacramentary of Sarapion,* bishop of Thmuis, and (2) the *Papyrus of Dêr Balyzeh.* The *Sacramentary of Sarapion,*[25] written about 350-356 A. D., contains a collection of prayers to be used at the Eucharist. There is no orderly arrangement of the prayers, hence the reconstruction of the form of this liturgy is not certain. The following order has been suggested by Brightman:[26]

1. "The first prayer of the Lord's Day."
2. Sermon.
3. Prayer after the Sermon.
4. Prayer for the Catechumens.
5. Benediction of the Catechumens.
6. Prayer for the people.
7. Benediction of people.
8. Prayer and Benediction of the sick.
9. Intercessions.
10. *Sursum Corda* (implied).
11. *Sanctus.*
12. Invocation (preliminary).
13. Institution, two parts, with prayer between.

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[24] Hauler, *op. cit.*

[25] Wordsworth, *Bishop Sarapion's Prayer Book,* London, 1910; Wobbermin, *Texte und Untersuch.* Neue Folge, II. 3b, Leipzig, 1899; Brightman, *Jr. Th. Studies,* I. The last two contain the Greek text.

[26] See last note.

14. Invocation (Logos).
15. Prayer for the congregation.
16. Fraction with prayer.
17. Prayer for Benediction before Communion.
18. Communion.
19. Prayer after Communion.
20. Form for blessing of oils and water.
21. Final Benediction.

The liturgical *Papyrus of Dêr Balyzeh,*[27] consisting of three leaves written on both sides, now in the Bodleian at Oxford, was discovered only a few years ago by Professor Petrie in Upper Egypt. Its date has been the subject of much dispute,[28] but it may be assigned to the middle or end of the fourth century; although, as far as the script is concerned, it may belong to the sixth, seventh, or eighth centuries. The service contained in this papyrus agrees with the bishop's Eucharist in the *Egyptian Church Order,* but is clearly intended to follow a Baptism. After the rearrangement of the parts, the following order is evident:

1. Prayer of the Faithful.
2. Thanksgiving (Preface).

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[27] Edited by Schermann, *Der liturgische Papyrus von Dêr Balyzeh* (*Texte und Untersuch.* XXXVI, 1b), Leipzig, 1910; see also Puniet in *Revue bénédictine* XXVI. 34; Puniet, *Fragments inéditis d'une liturgie Égyptienne* (*Report of the Nineteenth Eucharistic Congress, Westminster, September,* 1908), 1909, pp. 367ff; von der Goltz in *Zeitschrift für Kgesch.,* 1909, pp. 352ff; Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrét. et de Liturgie,* Paris, Article "Canon."

[28] Schermann argues for the third or even the end of the second century, while Brightman in *Jr. Th. Studies,* 1911, p. 311, thinks it is not earlier than the middle of the fourth century at the best.

3. *Sanctus.*
4. Invocation of the Holy Spirit.
5. Institution.
6. *Anamnesis.*
7. Prayer for the fruits of the Communion.
8. Short Creed.

By a comparison of the above forms of service as represented in writings of Egyptian origin, we can reconstruct the following order as representing what might be looked upon as the general outline of the Eucharistic service, as used in Egypt at the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A. D.:

Pro-anaphora:

1. Reading from the Old Testament, Gospels, and Epistles, preceded by the *attendamus lectioni.*
2. Sermon.
3. Prayers, which developed into the Diptychs.
4. Prayer of the Faithful.
5. Kiss of Peace.
6. Offertory.

Anaphora:

1. Thanksgiving introduced by responses; with *Sursum corda, and Preface.*
2. Invocation.
3. Institution.
4. *Anamnesis.*
5. Oblation and Invocation.
6. Invitation to Communion.
7. Communion.
8. Oil, water, and cheese offered after the liturgy.

A description of the Eucharistic service contained in the *A. C. VIII,* 5-15, and in a very much briefer form in *A. C. II,* 57, has been postponed till now, because (1) it is the latest form of all the Church Orders, belonging to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A. D.;[29] (2) although assigned by most liturgical scholars to a Syrian compiler;[30] and said to represent the liturgy of Antioch, it nevertheless preserves a type of liturgy certainly as much if not more Egyptian than Syrian; and (3) it is the oldest known form that can be described as a complete liturgy—although it cannot be considered the normal and official liturgy of any distinct Church—and it has best preserved that form of the primitive liturgy of which all the great parent rites of the fifth and later centuries may be considered modifications. It is therefore appropriate that the liturgy in the *A. C.* should be treated immediately, before considering the rise of the great parent rites, especially that of Alexandria.

The following is the order of the service found in the eighth book of the *A. C.*, where it is embedded in an office for the consecration of a bishop, a fact which may account for some omissions, especially of prayers at the beginning. It will be seen that the order is exactly the same as that in Justin Martyr, though of course, much fuller:[31]

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[29] Srawley, *op. cit.*, dates them at the end of the fourth century; Probst, *Liturgie der drei ersten christl. Jahrhunderte*, Tübingen, 1870. Probst spent most of his life in attempting to prove that the liturgy of the *A. C.* was the universal primitive liturgy of the Church, and he considers the Constitutions the earliest Church Order. Bickell, *Messe und Pascha*, follows him.

[30] Srawley, *op. cit.*, pp. 96ff; Fortescue, *Catholic Encyclopaedia, in loc;* Baumstark, *op. cit.*

[31] For the text see Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, Paderborn, 1905; De Lagarde, *Constitutiones*

Mass of the Catechumens

1. Lections (Law, Prophets, Epistles, Acts, and Gospels).[32]
2. Salutation and Response.
3. Sermon.
4. Litany for the Catechumens. To each invocation the people answer, Κύριε ἐλέησον.
5. The bishop says a collect.
6. The deacon dismisses the Catechumens.
7. Similar litanies and collects follow for the energumens, competentes, and penitents,[33] and they are in turn dismissed.

Mass of the Faithful

1. Eucharistic litany, or deacon's bidding prayer.
2. Prayer of the Faithful, by the bishop.
3. Salutation by the bishop and responses by the people.
4. Kiss of Peace.
5. Lavabo, followed by a series of proclamations by the deacon.
6. Offertory.[34]

Anaphora

7. *Sursum Corda.*
8. Eucharistic prayer.
9. *Sanctus.*
10. Institution.
11. *Anamnesis.*
12. Invocation of the Holy Spirit.
13. Intercession, ending with doxology and Amen.
14. Salutation by the bishop and response by the people (Blessing).

Apostolorum, Leipzig, 1862; for the text and translation see Brightman *LEW.*[1]

[32] Here, according to the fragmentary form in *A. C. II,* 57, there follow psalms with refrains by the people.

[33] Only catechumens and penitents are referred to in *A. C. II.*

[34] These do not appear in *A. C. II.*

15. Proclamation by the deacon and short litany (Inclination).
16. Prayer (of Humble Access) by the bishop.
17. The Elevation, and *Sancta Sanctis* and response.
18. Communion (during the Communion a part of Ps. 34 is sung).
19. The deacon exhorts people to prayer.
20. Thanksgiving by the bishop.
21. Benediction by the bishop.
22. Dismissal—"Depart in peace."

The chief differences in the fragmentary form in *A. C. II* have been noted above, and therefore there is no need of detailing its contents.[35]

During the third and fourth centuries, then, there grew up in the fluid liturgy inherited from the first and second centuries local peculiarities. The same general form of liturgical service at first was common to all ecclesiastical areas, but naturally, as time passed, additions and changes were made in different places. In the West Syrian churches several peculiarities developed and established themselves, such as "The grace of our Lord" etc. as a form of salutation at the opening of the Anaphora; also the cue in the Eucharistic prayer was taken from the word "holy" in the *Sanctus* instead of the word "full"; there grew up a fuller form of dismissals, as seen in St. Chrysostom and Cyril of Jerusalem; and finally, the *Didascalia* gives evidence that it was the Holy Spirit and not the Logos who was believed to operate in the Consecration. The East Syrian Church, however, developed more along the lines of Egyptian usage, and not at all in harmony with the

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[35] See Brightman, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-30.

Church at Antioch. The East Syrian service is peculiar in that it has neither a form of Institution nor an *Anamnesis.* The Cappadocian use, as might be expected, developed in a line parallel to the West Syrian, although, according to the writings of the two Gregorys, the operative agent in the Consecration is considered, as in Alexandria, to be the Logos.

The peculiarities which developed in the North African Church, in contradistinction to the Egyptian, are Western in character. There is the characteristic Western variety in formulae, the Western Preface and responses as seen in Cyprian, and the Kiss of Peace before the Communion as seen in the Roman Church, in contradistinction to the usage both of Eastern and other Western Churches. The use developed in Rome at this period contained no idea of the moment of Consecration nor the agent of its operation; and the long concluding prayers for different classes of people, so peculiar to most of the Eastern usages, are absent.

The special features of the rite, as it existed in Egypt during the third and fourth centuries, are: (1) The Preface in Sarapion, as in later Egyptian liturgies, took its cue from the word "full" in the *Sanctus* rather than from the word "holy," as was the case in the West Syrian use. (2) According to the *Testament of Our Lord,* the Epiclesis or Invocation came *after* the Institution, and was a prayer for the fruitful effect of the sacrifice in the soul of the worshipper; but according to the *Dêr Balyzeh Papyrus* it preceded the Institution. In *Sarapion* there are two forms of the Epiclesis, one preceding and the other following the Institution. This is also true of the later liturgy of St. Mark, and, as S. Salaville (*Échos d'Orient* XII, 329)[36] says, the primitive Egyptian rite probably had two forms of the Epiclesis. (3) According to *Sarapion,* the Logos and not the Holy Spirit is invoked in the Epiclesis, and this is characteristic of the Alexandrian rite. (4) *Sarapion* shows a very simple form of Dismissal. (5) The Salutation before the Preface according to the *Ethiopic Church Order* is "The Lord be with you," as in the Roman rite, and in contradistinction to the forms in the West Syrian rite. (6) An inexplicable peculiarity is the fact that no mention is made of the Lord's Prayer in the Eucharistic rite of Egypt in this period.

As remarked above (p. 65) the use represented by the *A. C.,* although held by most liturgical scholars to be Syrian, has much Egyptian colouring, as seen for example, in the fact that it contains no reference to the Lord's Prayer, and in the affinity of its *Anamnesis* and Invocation with those of the Ethiopic Church. Therefore its separation from both Egyptian and Syrian rites seems justified.

As we follow in brief outline the development of the Christian liturgy from its beginning to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century, we find that it gradually grew in coherence from a very fluid but general typical form, which assumed local variations, till the rise of the great parent rites. First, there arose a form of service which was the result of a combination of Jewish and Christian elements, with here and there a pagan influence; very soon the service took on the general character of a memorial meal, a development which may be considered purely Christian; then this Eucharistic service severed its connection with the primitive common meal, and gradually united with the Synagogue-like service which became the "service of the word," or the Pro-anaphora of the Eucharistic service; then gradually, as the institution of the catechumenate developed, elaborate prayers were introduced into the "service of the word" or Pro-anaphora; and finally, when we come to the time of Justin, we meet a service the same in general order as the great parent rites. Justin's thanksgiving "for the creation of the world" gradually developed into the great Eucharistic prayer, and soon there were attached to it the *Sursum Corda,* the *Sanctus,*[37] the Institution, the *Anamnesis* and Invocation, until in Cyprian's time, the third century, we find that many of these additions and developments had assumed a very stereotyped form. The intercessions for the living and the dead, which in earlier times were in the Pro-anaphoral part of the service, were associated, during the fourth century, with that part of the service immediately following the Consecration—a transposition due to feeling of appropriateness. In short, the commemoration of the dead, associated with intercessions for the living and dead, assumed the formal character of the Diptychs. The Lord's Prayer, which was absent from Egyptian liturgies of the fourth century and from the *A. C.* and not known in North Africa before the time of Optatus, is present in other liturgies as early as Cyril of Jerusalem. The Fraction also assumed a formal character, as *Sarapion* shows, and in fact became a characteristic feature of the Egyptian rite, though the *A. C.* do not refer to it. The Church in Egypt, represented by the *Egyptian Church Order* and *Sarapion* and the Cappadocian Gregory of Nazianzus, developed a formal Benediction of the people with laying on of hands, but the custom is not found in North Africa till the time of Augustine, and at no time in Rome during our period. The Kiss of Peace, like other additions, gradually crystallized. In the *Ethiopic Church Order* and in Cyril of Jerusalem, the *Sancta Sanctis* is found, but it does not appear in Alexandria before Cyril, and is not found at all in the West during our period. In the *A. C.* it is followed by the *Gloria in Excelsis,* Hosanna, and *Benedictus.* During the whole period under consideration, the Administration remained very simple; but in some places, as shown by Cyril of Jerusalem, Augustine and *A. C.,* we find that a psalm was chanted while the elements were administered (*Ps.* 34) and that the use of the Amen was widespread. After this came the Thanksgiving and Final Benediction as found in the *Ethiopic Church Order, Sarapion,* Chrysostom,

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[36] However, other opinions are held, see *Échos* xiii, 72.

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[37] The Hosanna and *Benedictus* are later additions. They are in the *A. C.*

Augustine and *A. C.;* and finally the Dismissal by the deacon as given in the *Ethiopic Church Order,* Chrysostom, and *A. C.* This framework of the liturgy of the third and fourth centuries, though differing in detail in the various ecclesiastical centres and fluid to a certain extent, became by use increasingly more stereotyped, and evidence is not lacking, especially in the West, to show that attempts were made to secure as much uniformity as possible; for while at an earlier stage in the development of the liturgy each bishop composed his own book of prayers as Sarapion did, the prestige of a great ecclesiastical centre always made itself felt and tended to establish its rite in the subordinate districts, just as the rite of the Church at Antioch dominated the usages of the whole West Syrian Church.

Finally, however, in spite of the amount of liturgical material representing the first four centuries, there has not so far been found any evidence for the existence of a complete and formal liturgy such as that which we find in the fifth and succeeding centuries.

LECTURE III

THE ETHIOPIC LITURGY OF THE FIFTH CENTURY

WE HAVE seen that there existed in the first three centuries a fluid but more or less uniform rite, which was founded upon the account of the Last Supper, and was combined with a Christianized Synagogue service, and that during the fourth century the general rite crystallized into different liturgies in different places, and began to assume peculiarities due to local conditions in the various ecclesiastical areas. At the end of the fourth century we see well defined and fully developed rites, still bearing, however, marks of their common ancestry. As a result of the great influence exerted by the Churches in specific centres of population and political life, the more or less uniform type of liturgy of the first three centuries gradually crystallized into four great parent rites, from which all others may be said to be derived. They are the rites of Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, and Gaul, and on comparison are seen to possess a substantial identity.

The fluid liturgy of the first three centuries gradually assumed at Antioch, and places influenced by that centre, individual characteristics. These we have already noted. As it is questionable whether the liturgy described in the *A. C.* belonged to any one specific centre, it is hardly correct to say that we have in them the earliest complete form of the liturgy of Antioch. Yet we would not err greatly in saying that this liturgy was very similar to that which was used in Antioch. However, it is certain that the great parent rite, associated with Antioch, was borrowed by her from the daughter liturgy of Jerusalem. Now as Jerusalem, previous to the Council of Chalcedon in 451, had belonged to the patriarchate of Antioch, the liturgy borrowed by Antioch from her was based upon the liturgy used by Antioch herself previous to the separation. This liturgy we call St. James, not that it had been used by St. James, but because of its very early connection, as a complete liturgy, with the Church of Jerusalem.[1] There is abundant evidence to show that St. James existed in the early part of the fifth century, and that it was very soon used throughout the whole of Syria, Palestine, and Asia Minor. The liturgy is extant in Greek and Syriac, and the oldest Greek manuscripts of it belong to the eighth century.

The early form of the Antiochian liturgy gave rise to many other rites. After the Monophysite schism and the Council of Chalcedon, both the Melchites and Jacobites continued to use the same rite. Gradually, however, the two languages, Greek and Syriac, became characteristic of the two parties respectively, the

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[1] For a discussion of the authenticity of the liturgies, see Swainson, *The Greek Liturgies*, chap. III.

Melchites using St. James in Greek,[2] and the Jacobites using the same liturgy in Syriac.[3] This Syriac St. James was in time adopted by the Malabar Christians and the Schismatics in India, and by the Syrian Uniates, while the Maronites use a Romanized form of it. The Greek version was used by the Orthodox Church till the end of the twelfth century,[4] when, after the Arab conquest of Palestine and Syria, and the centralization of the Church at Constantinople, it adopted the Byzantine rite. The Jacobites have, in addition to the Syriac liturgy of St. James, a large number of other Anaphoras. The names of eighty-four of them are known, the majority being still extant, and they are attributed to various saints and bishops.[5] They are merely local modifications of St. James.

The East Syrian rite, also called the Chaldean, Assyrian, or Persian rite, is Nestorian, and consists of a normal liturgy, under the name of the apostles Addai and Mari, together with several other rites.[6]

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[2] For the text, see Brightman, *LEW;* for translations, see *The Ante-Nicene Fathers,* Vol. VII, and many other works on Eastern liturgies, such as those by Brett, Neale and Littledale, etc.

[3] For the text, see Brightman, *LEW*, p. 2; for translation, see *LEW*, 69-110.

[4] The Greek liturgy of St. James used to be said on the 23rd of October, the feast of St. James, in the island of Zacynthus and at Jerusalem. It is still so used in Zacynthus, and in 1900 it was appointed to be used at Jerusalem on the 31st of December.

[5] See titles in Brightman, *LEW*, pp. lviii-lxi.

[6] See Brightman, *LEW*, pp. lxxvii-lxxxi.

The liturgy of Addai and Mari was derived from Antioch, as a comparison of it with St. James shows.

The Byzantine rite[7] consisting of the Greek liturgies of Basil,[8] Chrysostom,[9] Gregory Dialogus or the Presanctified,[10] the Armenian liturgy, and others, was also Antiochian in origin. The liturgies of the present Byzantine rite are found in various languages.

The date, origin, and early history of the Roman rite[11] are very obscure. The first Christians at Rome were a Greek-speaking community, and we may be sure that the earliest form of the liturgy was Oriental, possibly Antiochian, as the Byzantine was, although some liturgiologists, such as Duchesne, would connect it rather with Alexandria. By the seventh century—the date of our first complete text, that of the *Gelasian Sacramentary*—we find peculiarities, especially in the Canon, which separate the Roman rite from all the Eastern liturgies. These peculiarities naturally took much time to develop, but for lack of material we are unable to trace their growth. However, we know that they did not develop before the second century, when, as we learn from Justin

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[7] See Brightman, *LEW*, 308-457, for texts and translations.

[8] Used only on a few days in the year. It is the oldest liturgy of this rite.

[9] This is the liturgy in common use. It is based upon Basil.

[10] Used on week-days in Lent, except Saturdays.

[11] For the text, see Cabrol and Leclercq, *Monumenta ecclesiae liturgica*, I, 1, Paris, 1900-1902. For discussions, see Fortescue, *The Mass*, London and New York, 1912; and his article, "Mass," in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*.

Martyr, Rome used very much the same liturgy as Antioch and the other Eastern Churches. The chief peculiarities which developed between the second and seventh centuries are: (a) the Great Intercession was broken up and appeared at various places throughout the Canon, (b) the Epiclesis disappeared, (c) the Kiss of Peace changed its position to a point just *after* the consecration. After the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Roman rite expelled all others in the West, and became, with a few exceptions, the only use permitted in the Roman Church.

The Gallican rite[12] prevailed in Gaul from the earliest times till about the end of the eighth century, though we have no definite information about it earlier than the fifth century. Many theories have been put forward as to its origin, but the most probable is that it was introduced into Milan about the middle of the fourth century, perhaps by the Cappadocian bishop Auxentius, 355-374, and that it represents an Antiochian original. The representative of the Gallican rite at Milan is the Ambrosian liturgy, which derived its name from St. Ambrose of Milan, 340-397. From the earliest time this liturgy came under the influence of Rome, and as a result it has many specifically Roman characteristics. It is still used at Milan. In Spain the Mozarabic liturgy,[13] used from the earliest times to the close of the eleventh century, and still in use in Toledo and Salamanca, is most likely a form of the Gallican rite. In addition to the liturgies of Milan and Spain, this rite also has representatives in France, Germany, Britain, and Ireland.

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[12] For the text, see Mabillon, *De Liturgia Gallicana*, Paris, 1685. For discussion, see Jenner's article, "Gallican Rite," in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia.*

[13] For the text, see Cabrol and Leclercq, *Monumenta eccle-*

Alexandria was the most influential religious centre of Egypt, and it was here that the fluid Egyptian rite finally crystallized in a liturgy which has been associated with the name of St. Mark. Although the oldest extant manuscript of the liturgy of St. Mark is not earlier than the twelfth century,[14] we know, by comparison with the earlier fragmentary rites, examined in the second lecture, that it goes back to the fifth century at least.[15] Religious unity was broken up in Egypt after the Council of Chalce-

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siae liturgica, V, Paris, 1904. For discussion and literature, see Jenner's article, "Mozarabic Rite," in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*.

[14] The oldest manuscript of Greek St. Mark is a large fragment of the twelfth century, now in the University Library of Messina, *Ms. Grec.* n. 177. There are four others, namely, (1) *Vaticanus Graec.* 1970, xiii cent.; (2) *Vat. Graec.* 2281, 1207 A. D.; (3) a MS. in the Monast. of St. Catherine, Mt. Sinai, 12 or 13 cent.; (4) a MS. in the library of Orthodox Patriarch at Cairo, 1870 A. D. The text of this MS. is substantially the same as *Vat. Graec.* 2281. For a printed text, see Brightman, *LEW* 113-143; Renaudot, *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*, Paris, 1716; Assemani, *Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiae Universae*, Vol. VII, Rome, 1749, etc.; Neale, *Tetralogia Liturgica*, London, 1850; Swainson, *Greek Liturgies*, Cambridge, 1884; and for translation, see *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. VII; etc.

[15] Schermann, *Der Aufbau der aegyptischen Abendmahlsliturgien von 6. Jahrhundert an* (*Der Katholik*. Bd. IX, Hft. 4, 229-230).

don; and, although orthodox and heretics alike followed the ancient Alexandrian use, additions and changes in the liturgy were soon made. The official church of the Melchites came under the influence of Constantinople, and finally adopted the liturgy of that Church; and St. Mark, beginning with the twelfth century, ceased to be used. The Monophysites discarded the Greek language for liturgical purposes and used the Coptic, which was spoken by the majority of the people. It is not certain whether Coptic was used in the liturgy before the Council of Chalcedon,[16] but it has unquestionably been so used ever since.

The Greek liturgy of Alexandria was probably completed under the influence of St. Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, about the beginning of the fifth century, and it appears under the name of both St. Cyril and St. Mark. It may be considered a direct development of the liturgy first used at Alexandria, and as such it is the direct parent of the Coptic St. Cyril and of the Ethiopic liturgies, and also the source of the more characteristic features of Coptic Basil and Gregory.

The liturgies used by the Copts[17] are known to have been translated from Greek. This is proved by the number of Greek phrases in them and by their general translation-character, not to mention other points of evidence. There are three of them, namely, St. Cyril, St. Basil, and St. Gregory (Nazianzus). They differ essentially only in the Anaphoras, which we find united to a common Pro-anaphora. The Anaphora of Cyril (also called St. Mark), together with the common Pro-anaphora, corresponds in outline exactly with the liturgy of St. Mark. When it was translated into Coptic, all the best known parts were left in Greek. The Anaphora of Cyril is the only one of Coptic liturgies which contains the Thanksgiving in the Egyptian form; and, as St. Mark, after the Council of Chalcedon, came greatly under the influence of Constantinople, it is interesting to note that the Coptic liturgies, especially St. Cyril, are purer than Mark is in its present form. Coptic Basil and Gregory both contain a mixture of native and foreign elements and are closely related. Syrian influence on Basil, as Neale[18] shows, was due to the liturgy of John of Bassora; and Gregory follows Basil. It is not known why nor when, but Basil became the normal liturgy of the Coptic Monophysites, although Cyril is the most ancient. Gregory is used in Lent, and Cyril on festivals.[19]

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[16] Fortescue, *The Lesser Eastern Churches, London,* 1913, p. 275, argues for the end of the third century.

[17] For the Coptic liturgies and information about their texts and translations, see Brightman, *LEW.*

The only remaining branch of the Alexandrian parent rite is the liturgy of the Church in Abyssinia, which is the subject of these lectures. Meanwhile, we must pause here to note the main characteristics of the Alexandrian family of liturgies. (1) The

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[18] Neale, *History of the Holy Eastern Church,* General Introduction, Vols. 1-2, London, 1850.

[19] Basil and Gregory are also extant in Greek.

Alexandrian, like other oriental rites, has no variable parts except the Lections and subordinate hymns; (2) a very prominent part is assigned to the deacon; (3) the Pro-anaphora is very long; (4) in all its liturgies except St. Mark there are four Lections; (5) the Salutation before the Preface is much less complicated than in the Syrian liturgies; (6) the Great Intercession comes at the middle of the Preface instead of *after* the Consecration in all except *Sarapion,* Basil, and Gregory; (7) the Great Intercession and the Diptychs come before the *Sanctus;* (8) *Sarapion* and St. Mark take their cue from the word "full" in the *Sanctus;* (9) the *Sanctus* has no accompanying Benediction; (10) the *Sanctus,* the Words of Institution, and the Invocation have a much later place than in the Syrian rite, an arrangement which was pointed out by Jacob of Edessa as early as the seventh century; (11) the acclamation of the people at the *Sancta Sanctis* presents certain peculiarities; and (12) the prayer of Fraction is an Alexandrian feature and, as in *Sarapion,* is a preparation for the Communion, while in the Coptic liturgies it serves as an introduction to the Lord's Prayer.

As a further introduction to the study of the Ethiopic liturgy of the fifth century, it will be well to summarize very briefly what is known about the people and early Christianity of Abyssinia.[20] The inhabitants of Abyssinia or Ethiopia belong to three distinct races, the African aborigines, the Hamites, and the Semites. The Semites came to Abyssinia from Arabia by way of the Red Sea. Whether they were Jews or pagans is not known, although there are many Jewish traces in later Abyssinian Christian-

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[20] Some of the most important books and articles on Abyssinia are: Bent, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians,* Lond., 1893; Bruce, *Travels in Abessinia,* Lond., 1790;

Gobat, *Journal of a three years' residence in Abyssinia*, Lond., 1847; Harris, *The Highlands of Ethiopia*, Lond., 1844; Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt in the Middle Ages;* Lebrun, *Explication*, IV; Ludolfus, *Historia ethiopica*, Francf. ad M., 1681, *Ad suam historiam ethiopicam*, Francf. ad M., 1691; Neale, *The Patriarchate of Alexandria*, Lond., 1847; Rossini, *Studi su pop. dell' Ethiopia*, 1913; Stanley (Lord), *Narrative of the Portuguese embassy to Abyssinia*, Lond., 1881; Skinner, *Abyssinia of To-day*, Lond., 1906; Holland and Hozier, *Records of the Expedition to Abyssinia*, Lond., 1870; Littman, "Abyssinia" in Hasting's *Ency. of Rel. and Ethics*.

The most important books and articles on the Ethiopic Church are: Early writers such as, Rufinus, Theodoret, Socrates, and Sozomen in *Hist. Eccl.* I-II (P. L. and P. G.); Adeney, *The Greek and Eastern Churches*, Lond., 1908; Baronius, *Annales Eccl.* XIX, Lucca, 1746; Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, Paris, 1844; Dowling, *The Abyssinian Church*, Lond., 1909; Evetts and Butler, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, Oxf. 1895; Fortescue, *The Lesser Eastern Churches*, Lond., 1913; Geddes, *The Church History of Ethiopia*, Lond., 1696; Gondal, *Le Christianisme au pays de Ménélik;* Lequien, *Or. Christianus*, II, 650; *Littmann, op. cit.* and his article in *Der Islam*, 1910; Lobo, *Voyage historique d'Abyssinie*, Paris, 1728; Ludolfus, *op. cit.;* Mileham, *Churches in Lower Nubia*, Phila. 1910; Morié, *Historie de l'Ethiopie*, Paris, 1904; Neale, *History of the Holy Eastern Church*, Vol. I; Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Lond., 1625; Renaudot, *Hist. Patr. Alex.;* Rossini, *Liber Axumae* (*C S C O*), Paris, 1909; Schönfelder, *Die Religionsgeschichte des Johannes von Ephesus*, Munich, 1862.

ity, such as the observance of the Sabbath, the distinction between clean and unclean, the idea of sexual uncleanness, the custom of circumcision, the prohibition of graven images, and other characteristics which would seem to point to Jewish influence or origin. These Semites, at all events, soon gained the upper hand in the country which they had invaded, and their Semitic language, which was later called Ethiopic, gradually became the official means of communication. Several accounts have been preserved of the conversion of Ethiopia to Christianity. There is a legend to the effect that it was evangelized in Apostolic times by Queen Candace's eunuch, who, according to the New Testament, was baptized by Philip the deacon. Origen, however, says that St. Matthew was the apostle to the Ethiopians, but the story is not considered at all authentic. Rufinus, followed by Theodoret, Socrates, and Sozomen, gives us the well known story about the attack made by barbarians, in the time of Constantine, upon a ship-load of traders on the Red Sea, among whom were Meropius of Tyre and two companions, also from Tyre, the elder of whom was named Frumentius, and the younger Aedesius. Meropius escaped, but Frumentius and Aedesius were taken before the king of Ethiopia, whose capital was Aksum, a city in the northern and more mountainous part of the country. Frumentius was subsequently made chancellor of the kingdom, and, on the death of the king, he and Aedesius acted as regents for the two boys, who later came to the throne as co-rulers. Frumentius and Aedesius were

Christians, and they preached their faith to the Ethiopians. Frumentius finally obtained permission to go to Alexandria, where he found Athanasius reigning as patriarch, and the latter consecrated him bishop of the Ethiopians. Frumentius returned and was so successful that in time both kings became Christian. The consecration of Frumentius must have taken place about 340, as it was sometime after the beginning of the patriarchate of Athanasius (329-373). Ever since that time, with one exception, the Metropolitan or *Abūna* of Abyssinia has always received his appointment from Egypt. After the death of Frumentius, he was given the title of *Aba Salāma* (father of peace), a title still used by the Metropolitan. Christianity, however, did not become the national religion till about 450. The king who championed the cause of Christianity, and who has been called the Constantine of Abyssinia, was Ezānā or Tāzānā.[21] Two inscriptions[22] belonging to the reign of this king have been recovered. According to the contents of the first, ʿEzānā is a pagan, but according to the second he is a Christian.

Dioscorus, the reputed twenty-fifth patriarch of Alexandria reckoning from St. Mark,[23] was condemned for heresy by the Council of Chalcedon and deposed in 451, when he became a leader of Monophysitism. Very soon the new party became very powerful, and by 480 Monophysitism must have gained a permanent hold in the kingdom of Ethiopia; for we are sure that the so-called "nine saints," who were missionaries to Abyssinia about 480 in the reign of Ameda, were Monophysites. Besides the Ethiopic Church, Monophysitism is the creed also of the following: the Coptic Church in Egypt, the Jacobite Church in Syria, most of the modern Church of Malabar, and the Armenian Church. Since the sixth century, Monophysites have been commonly known as Jacobites, after James Baradaeus, bishop of Edessa, but it is technically incorrect to call the Monophysites of Egypt Jacobites, because of the fact that the theological position of the former antedates that of the Syrians to whom the term rightly belongs. Liturgically, the chief characteristic of the Monophysites is, that they believe in consecration by the Epiclesis and reject the *Filioque* clause. From about 650 till the coming of the Jesuits at the end of the thirteenth century, we know practically nothing about the Ethiopic Church.

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[21] The first syllable is uncertain.

[22] Littman, "Abyssinia," in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

[23] Lequien, *Or. Christianus*, ii. 409.

As the first bishop of the Ethiopic Church was chosen and consecrated by the patriarch of Alexandria and was himself an Egyptian, it is natural to suppose that he brought with him into Abyssinia the Alexandrian rite to which he had been accustomed. We may feel sure that for a good many years the liturgy used in the Ethiopic Church was none other than that in use at Alexandria and also that it was in the Greek tongue, at least till after the Council of

Chalcedon.[24] In Lecture Two we discussed, so far as our material would allow us, the general character of the fluid liturgy which was used in the ecclesiastical area of Alexandria during the third and fourth centuries. Now, as we have also seen, it was during the fourth century that the Church was founded in Abyssinia; and since its first bishop was consecrated by the Alexandrian patriarch we should not be far wrong in conjecturing that the Egyptian liturgy described in Lecture Two was also that used in Ethiopia during this period.

Liturgical scholars are agreed that the Greek liturgy of St. Mark—since it was used by orthodox and heretics alike—arose and assumed its present form before the Council of Chalcedon, minus certain later additions and changes due to the influence of Constantinople. Now, the earliest extant manuscripts of the Ethiopic liturgy are not older than the seventeenth century, although Tasfa Sion (Petrus Ethyops), an Ethiopic monk living at Rome, made a translation of the Ethiopic liturgy in 1548; but the manuscript from which he translated is not known to exist. Therefore, if we can reconstruct the Markan liturgy of the fifth century, we shall feel fairly certain that we have before us the earliest complete and formal Ethiopic liturgy. It has been repeatedly stated by liturgical scholars that by comparing the extant liturgies derived from St. Mark with the earliest extant form of Greek St. Mark, and noting what is common to them, it would be possible to reconstruct in some measure the old use of Alexandria as it existed before 451. Such a course could hardly be expected to arrive at any great degree of definiteness or accuracy; for obviously the same addition might have made its way into all the liturgies compared, including St. Mark itself, at any time between 451 and the date of the earliest extant manuscript of any of the liturgies. On the basis of a comparison, such an addition, though late, would be considered a part of the original use. This would lead to false conclusions. Conversely, a genuine part of the original liturgy might, at any time after 451, have dropped out of any one of the derived rites, and because of its absence it would later be considered an addition to those rites retaining it. However, after a detailed comparison (1) of the seventeenth century form of the Ethiopic liturgy of the Twelve Apostles, which is considered to be the Coptic Cyril translated into Ethiopic, though with various changes and additions; (2) with Coptic Cyril, which is clearly based upon an old Greek liturgy like St. Mark; (3) with Coptic Basil; and (4) with the earliest extant form of St. Mark, the following outline has been arrived at. It is presented here in order to show the fallacy of a statement such as the one above mentioned; for it is plainly very imperfect and unsatisfactory, and when compared with any early rite such as the *Clementine* or even *Sarapion,* is evidently quite impossible as a liturgy. Moreover, it has been found just as impossible to reconstruct individual prayers; for while the same prayer in sister liturgies may express the same general idea, and quite often, indeed, has phrases which can be paralleled in each of the sister rites, yet every attempt to reconstruct verbally any individual prayer has failed, because of the numerous changes and additions which have taken place even in the most stereotyped prayers. In fact it has often happened that a prayer belonging to the parent rite has been so changed in the different sister liturgies as to be unrecognizable.

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[24] Abû Ṣâlih, the Armenian, of the early part of the thirteenth century, tells us that the liturgy of the Abyssinians was in Greek (*Fol.* 99a) (Evetts and Butler, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, Oxford, 1895, 284-291). Moreover, early Ethiopic coins have Greek legends, and it is known that Ethiopic was not used for literary purposes till after the introduction of Christianity (Littmann, *Geschichte der äthiop. litteratur*, in *Geschichte d. Christl. Litteratur d. Orients*, Leipzig, 1907; Guidi, *Langue et litt. éthiopiennes*, in *L'anné linguistique*, tom. IV, 1908-1910, Paris, 1912). The presence of Greek phrases still in the liturgy would point to the same conclusion.

The following outline,[25] then, is based upon a comparison of Greek St. Mark, with the Ethiopic Twelve Apostles, St. Cyril, and St. Basil:

MISSA CATECHUMENORUM

PROTHESIS

1. ENARXIS—The prayer which begins "We give thee thanks, yea, more than thanks, O Lord our God," is found in all the compared liturgies, but nevertheless, as will be shown later, it is not original. *The prayer of the entrance (Little Entrance) which begins, "O sovereign Lord our God, who hast chosen the lamp of the twelve apostles,"*

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[25] Portions in italics are believed to represent the original parent rite.

on the other hand, is original, and though quite different in phraseology in the compared liturgies, can be easily recognized.

2. Lections—It is strange that St. Mark is the only one of the compared liturgies which makes no reference to lections from the Old Testament; for these lections were undoubtedly in the original (see below). There is likewise no reference to a sermon, which is also original. *The three prayers beginning, "O sovereign Lord Christ Jesus, the co-eternal word," "Accept at thy holy, heavenly, and reasonable altar," and "May the Lord who is the blessed God," as well as the deacon's proclamation, "Stand and let us hear," etc., and the priest's collect, "Look down in mercy,"* are found in all the compared liturgies and are original.

MISSA FIDELIUM

1. Prayer of the Faithful—*Found in all the compared liturgies,* but with much variation in phraseology.
2. Creed—*Found in all.* Even previous to the fifth century a local Creed was used.
3. Kiss of Peace—*Found in all, with salutation and prayer,* though variant in phraseology.

ANAPHORA

4. Thanksgiving—*Found in all, with salutations,* which became stereotyped at an early period. *Sursum Corda* and *Sanctus with the prayer, "Truly heaven and earth are full."*
5. Institution—*The Words of Institution are found in all of the compared liturgies with slight variations, and with similar rubrical directions.*
6. Invocation—*Found in all* but with varied phraseology.
7. Intercessions—Contrary to ancient custom, extant St. Mark has the Intercessions in the Preface.

8. Lord's Prayer—*The Lord's Prayer* is found in all the compared liturgies, but in various positions.
9. Manual Acts—There is no consensus of opinion among the compared liturgies as to what these were in the parent rite. *The Sancta Sanctis* and *"One is the holy Father," etc.*, are ancient.
10. Communion—*A Communion prayer and the words of administration with slightly variant phraseology are found in all.*
11. Thanksgiving—*The prayer of Thanksgiving* varies greatly.
12. Dismissal—The Dismissal varies greatly, and there is no expression "Depart in Peace" in the Coptic rites.

The plan which seems to result in the most satisfactory reconstruction is to take the oldest extant form of Greek St. Mark, and then remove the later additions, so far as a comparative study of liturgical development, together with references to the development of theological thought, will permit. The following tables of forms of the liturgy as used in the Egyptian Church previous to the establishment of St. Mark's liturgy, will furnish us with means of appreciating the arguments put forth in deciding what the later additions and changes are, and what portion of extant St. Mark is to be considered original. After presenting the tables and arguments, we shall attempt a reconstruction of the Greek text of St. Mark, as it was probably received by the Ethiopic Church; that is, the earliest complete form of the Eucharistic service as used in Abyssinia.

A *Rationale of the Service,* drawn up by Hammond (*Liturgies Eastern and Western,* Oxf., 1878), has been used, with slight variations, and an outline of the translation of the oldest text of St. Mark has been placed in the table, to show its relationship to the previous liturgical forms. Parenthetical sections in the outline of St. Mark are considered later additions.

		Rationale of the Service		*Papyrus Dêr Balyzeh* (end of second century).
Missa Catechumenorum.	Pro-Anaphora.	1. *Approach to the Altar.*	(A)	
		2. *Instruction.*	(B)	
		3. *Prayers for, and dismissal of the Catechumens.*	(C)	
Missa Fidelium.		4. *Prayers of the Faithful.*	(D)	D. Prayer of the Faithful.
		5. *Offertory.*	(E)	
		6. *Sign of Unity.*	(F)	
		7. *One Faith*	(G)	
	Anaphora.	8. *Invitation to, and grounds of Thanksgiving; summed up in*	(H)	H. Eucharistic Prayer.
		9. *The strain with which the angels and the redeemed unite in greeting the incarnate conqueror.*	(K)	K. *Sanctus.*
		10. *Commemoration of the Redemption and Institution and the Oblation.*	(L) & (M)	L.M. Institution. *Anamnesis.*
		11. *Invocation.*	(N)	
		12. *Intercessions.*	(O)	
		13. *Preparation of the Communicants.*	(P)	
		14. *Ritual Preparation.*	(Q)	
		15. *Communion.*	(R)	
		16. *Post-Communion.*	(S)	S. Prayer for fruits of the Communion.
		17. *Dismissal.*	(T)	G. Creed.

Ethiopic Church Order (end of third century).	*Sacramentary of Sarapion* (fourth century).
	B. Prayer before the lections. Sermon.
	C. Prayer for, and blessing of Catechumens.
F. Kiss of Peace.	
E. Offertory.	
H. Thanksgiving, prefaced by salutations and *Sursum Corda.*	H. Benediction of People, and *Sursum Corda* (implied in the Offertory prayer).
	Intercessions.
	E. Offertory.
	K. *Sanctus* and preliminary Invocation.
L.M. Commemoration, Oblation Institution, *Anamnesis.*	L.M. Commemoration (?), Oblation, Institution, and *Anamnesis.*
N. Invocation.	N. Invocation of Logos.
	O. Intercessions.
P. Prayer and *Sancta Sanctis.*	P. Lord's Prayer (perhaps). *Benedictus qui venit.*
Q. Elevation (?) and Fraction (?).	Q. Fraction.
R. Communion.	R. Communion.
S. Thanksgiving.	S. Thanksgiving and prayer concerning oils and water.
T. Benediction and Dismissal.	T. Benediction.

Testament of Our Lord (last half of fourth century.)	*St. Mark* (beginning of fifth century).
A. Prayers (?).	A. ⟨Prothesis—threefold salutations with prayers⟩.
B. Lessons and Instructions.	B. Little Entrance, Prayer of Incense, ⟨Introit⟩, ⟨*Trisagion*⟩, Lections.
	C. Bidding Prayer. Dismissal of Catechumens.
E. Offertory.	D. Prayer of the Faithful (?)
	E. ⟨Great Entrance, while the people sing *Cherubim*⟩.
F. Kiss of Peace.	G. ⟨Creed⟩.
	F. Kiss of Peace. ⟨Offertory (E)⟩.
H. Thanksgiving with *Sursum Corda* and *Sancta Sanctis.*	H. Salutation, *Sursum Corda,* and Thanksgiving.
	O. ⟨Intercessions. Diptychs⟩.
	K. *Sanctus* and preliminary Invocation.
L.M. Commemoration, Oblation (?), Institution, and *Anamnesis.*	L.M. Commemoration, ⟨Oblation⟩, Institution, and *Anamnesis.*
N. Invocation of the Trinity.	N. Invocation.
O. Intercessions.	O. Intercession.
P. *Benedictus qui venit.* Lord's Prayer (perhaps).	P. Lord's Prayer and *Sancta Sanctis.*
	Q. Manual Acts.
R. Communion.	R. Communion.
S. Post-Communion. Thanksgiving.	S. Thanksgiving.
	T. Blessing and Dismissal. ⟨Prayers in Sacristy⟩.

We are now in a position to study the different parts of the liturgical forms used in Egypt previous to the rise of St. Mark's liturgy, to see the relation between them and the corresponding parts in St. Mark, and to note, with the aid of light from comparative liturgies and from the development of theological conceptions (for the old forms of the great liturgies contain no heretical teaching), what are the probable additions to the liturgy of St. Mark, especially those made after the Council of Chalcedon and under the influence of Constantinople. Thus, we shall be able, by conjecture, to approach pretty nearly to the original form of St. Mark as used in Alexandria and very probably as used by any Church dependent upon Alexandria. Such an original St. Mark, as it existed before the Council of Chalcedon, we may assume to be the earliest complete form of the Ethiopic liturgy, and to have been used in its Greek form by the Church in Abyssinia. After the Council of Chalcedon, we have reason to believe that the Ethiopic Church rendered this liturgy into Ethiopic, the language of her people.

Oriental liturgies are divided into two parts, a Pro-anaphora and an Anaphora. The Pro-anaphora ends with the Kiss of Peace, but when the Kiss of Peace precedes the Creed it ends with the latter. The Anaphora begins with the Eucharistic Thanksgiving. We divide them sometimes into the two parts: the *Missa Catechumenorum* and the *Missa Fidelium*. These divisions are not co-extensive with the Pro-anaphora and Anaphora. The Mass of the

Catechumens ends with the dismissal of the Catechumens, and the Mass of the Faithful begins with the Prayer of the Faithful. In other words the *Missa Fidelium* is more extensive than the Anaphora, the latter corresponding with what is known in the West as the Canon of the Mass together with the Preface.

The Pro-anaphora of the Oriental Church, as we have seen, no doubt had its origin in the Sabbath morning Synagogue service. This as we saw in our study of the service in Justin Martyr, gave rise to the Christian morning service, which in turn became the Pro-anaphora. Gradually, additions were made to this service. Tertullian speaks of Psalms which, according to *A. C.* II, 57, were sung between the Lessons. This became in time a regular part of the service. Before the union of the Pro-anaphora and the Anaphora, there were intercessory prayers in the Christian morning service which remind one of the Eucharistic Intercessions, the αἱ εὐχαί, of the Anaphora. An example of this is the long prayer of St. Clement (cc. lix-lxi), which contains petitions for various classes of persons, particularly for unbelievers. Similar prayers are referred to by Justin and Tertullian.

A. With the exception of extant St. Mark, the only early Egyptian liturgical form which has an Approach to the Altar is that found in the *Testament of Our Lord*, which in the portions between the Offertory and the Invocation is almost identical with the liturgy of the *Ethiopic Church Order*. The *Testa-*

ment of Our Lord has at this point a deacon's Litany, but it exhibits a developed form very much like that of the later Ethiopic service. The corresponding portion of St. Mark, which is a three-fold salutation with prayers, or a nine-fold Κύριε ἐλέησον with prayers, seems to be a later form due to the influence of the deacon's Litany (with prayers) of the liturgy of St. Chrysostom; and it may be considered an addition due to Constantinopolitan influence.

B. St. Mark, as we have it now, is the only Egyptian liturgical form extant which refers to an Introit or Initial Hymn at the beginning of the Gospel (εἴσοδος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου) or Little Entrance. But whether in its abbreviated form, ψάλλουσιν τὸ ὁ μονογενὴς, or in its full form, Ὁ μονογενὴς Υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἀθάνατος ὑπάρχων καταδεξάμενος διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν σαρκωθῆναι ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας ἀτρέπτως ἐνανθρωπήσας σταυρωθείς τε Χριστὲ ὁ θεὸς θανάτῳ θάνατον πατήσας εἷς ὢν ἁγίας τριάδος συνδοξαζόμενος τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι σῶσον ἡμᾶς, its theological content teaches us that it is clearly of later date than the Council of Ephesus in 431, and probably did not find a place in the original St. Mark.

According to a legend, the *Trisagion*[26] was revealed supernaturally at Constantinople in the time of St. Proclus (434-446). This, as Brightman says (p. 531), probably marks the date of its introduction into the liturgy. Its first appearance is among the acclamations of the Chalcedonian Fathers. In Antiochian liturgies, and those influenced by them, it comes at the beginning of the *Missa Catechumenorum,* but in the Egyptian liturgies, just before the Gospel. In St. Mark it reads ἅγιος ὁ θεός, ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, but it is considerably expanded by other liturgies, among them the Ethiopic. This hymn is without doubt a later addition, in spite of the fact that it occurs at a comparatively early date in almost all Oriental liturgies. The introductory prayer, which is called εὐχὴ τοῦ τρισαγίου, is really a prayer for enlightenment to understand the scriptures; for we have a very similar prayer in the *Sacramentary of Sarapion* No. 19. It is called the "First Prayer of the Lord's Day (κυριακῆς)," and is also a prayer for the understanding and ability to interpret the scriptures. There is no mention of the *Trisagion* in Sarapion's prayer, and this would lead one to conclude that at this point we have in St. Mark an interpolation in the prayer, and a corresponding rubric put in to make the interpolated *Trisagion* seem genuine.

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[26] A term often incorrectly applied to the *Sanctus*.

The Little Entrance in St. Mark is very simple and is, no doubt, primitive (compare Clement, *Paed.,* iii, 11; Athanasius, *Ap. c. Arian.* 28; Theophilus, *Can.* 7 (P. G. lxv, 41A).

The use of incense and the prayer of incense are considered ancient; and there is really no good reason for thinking, as Brett does,[27] that the reference to the offering of incense in *Ap. Canon* III is a late interpolation. It is rather strange that St. Mark makes no reference to Lections from the Old Testament. This was a regular part of the old Christianized Synagogue service, which later became the Pro-anaphora, and the *Apostolic Canons* speak of the reading of "the Law and Prophets and Epistles and Acts and Gospels."[28] Its omission is probably due to the fact that the Pro-anaphoral part of the service was a long time in attaining a fixed form. The same remark applies to the absence of any reference to a Sermon. In time the Pro-anaphora became much more elaborate and constant.

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[27] *A Collection of the Principal Liturgies, London,* 1838, pp. 346ff.

C. The Bidding Prayer. The dismissal of the Catechumens, which is given in a very brief form in St. Mark (Βλέπετε μή τις τῶν κατηχουμένων), is not found in Coptic Cyril, but it occurs in the Ethiopic service, one of many indications of the close relationship between the later Ethiopic liturgy and original St. Mark. There is no Prayer of the Faithful (D), unless the Bidding Prayer in "C" be interpreted to cover it; or unless it may be represented by a short prayer following the *Cherubim,* and immediately preceding the procession to the altar (the Great Entrance).

E. The Great Entrance is accompanied by a reference to the singing of the Cherubic Hymn (χερουβίμ). Now the Cherubic Hymn is a peculiarity of Constantinople and of those liturgies dependent upon it. It is said to have been introduced into the liturgy at the command of Justinian, about the middle of the sixth century. At any rate, it is not found in any other early Egyptian liturgical form. It has been thought that the original St. Mark had no Great Entrance, or at the most only a very simple form of it. In the extant St. Mark the Great Entrance has been introduced, and has forced the Offertory to a position after the Kiss of Peace. In late liturgies it becomes quite elaborate, and is found in the Prothesis.

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[28] *Lib.* viii, ch. 5.

F. The Kiss of Peace is very primitive, being referred to in the writings of the Alexandrian Fathers, Clement (*Paed.* iii, 11) and Timothy (*Resp. can.* 9), and also in the *Testament of Our Lord.* In St. Mark, as well as in Basil, it precedes the Creed, but in Coptic St. Cyril it follows the latter, as also in the Ethiopic service and in the liturgy of SS. Addai and Mari. The order in St. Mark, as well as in Basil, is probably due to the influence of Constantinople. In Oriental liturgies, the Kiss of Peace always precedes the Consecration, and this order is followed in the West in the Gallican and Mozarabic rites, but in the Roman liturgy it appears after the Consecration and this order is followed by the Ambrosian service.

G. The so-called Nicene Creed was not officially introduced into the liturgy till the fifth or sixth century. However, we find in the liturgy of the *Papyrus of Dêr Balyzeh* (*Fol.* 3, V) a short form of the Creed, which is peculiar in having the words "I believe" as in St. Mark, the Byzantine service, and St. James, in contradistinction to the usual Oriental Creeds which have "we believe." There is a similar Creed in the *Ethiopic Church Order* (Horner, *op. cit.,* p. 173). Both are undoubtedly ancient, local Baptismal Creeds. Its position in the *Papyrus of Dêr Balyzeh,* at the very end, is unique. The Offertory, which, in St. Mark's liturgy, comes at this point, is found in other liturgies before or at the Great Entrance.

We now come to a consideration of the Anaphora (the "offering up," ἀναφορά, of the eucharistic sacrifice), or εὐχαριστία, which in its early form consisted in general of, (1) the recounting of God's love toward mankind, and (2) the ἀνάμνησις, followed by a prayer for the work of the Holy Spirit, a petition for all sorts and conditions of mankind, and the Communion. This general form was exceedingly fluid, but it became more and more defined at different centres with the passage of time. By the time of Cyprian the *Sursum Corda* was added and, finally, by the fourth century, we have a complete Anaphora, extending from the *Sursum Corda* to the dismissal, though with some varying prayers. From the *Sursum Corda* with its Salutation to the end of the Anaphora very little change has taken place.

H. The *Sursum Corda* is very ancient, being found quite complete in Cyril of Jerusalem. Its norm, especially for Egypt, is: "The Lord be with you: And with thy spirit; Let us lift up our hearts: We lift them up to the Lord; Let us give thanks to the Lord: It is meet and right." This is the form found in St. Mark, in Coptic Basil and Cyril, in the Ethiopic, the Roman, the Gallican, and the

Ambrosian liturgies. Others have, instead of "The Lord be with you," "The grace of Our Lord," etc. Although this form is lacking in the *Dêr Balyzeh Papyrus,* it occurs in a slightly different guise in the *Ethiopic Church Order:* "The Lord be with you all: May he be wholly with thy spirit; Lift up your hearts: We lift them up unto the Lord our God; Let us give thanks unto the Lord: It is right and just." In the *Sacramentary of Sarapion* there is no mention of the *Sursum Corda,* but it is probably presupposed since the Eucharistic prayer begins with the words "It is meet and right." The *Testament of Our Lord* has the *Sursum Corda* and in addition, the *Sancta Sanctis,* as follows: "Holy things in holy persons: In heaven and on earth without ceasing." The *Ethiopic Church Order* has the *Sancta Sanctis* just *before* the Communion. The Eucharistic prayer is found in all the old liturgical forms.

The intercessions are misplaced in St. Mark, and contain a clause, "Hail! Mother of God," which is considered a late interpolation.[29] The title "Mother of God" was not generally used by the Church till the time of Nestorius, who was condemned at Ephesus in 431. Moreover, there is no connection between the phrase and what precedes or follows it.

K. The Triumphal Hymn or *Sanctus,* also called the *Tersanctus,* Seraphic Hymn, or Angelic Hymn, is based upon the hymn of the Seraphim in Is. 6, together with Ps. 118: 26, and is found in all liturgies at the same point, *i. e.,* at the conclusion of the Preface and just before the Consecration. It is a part of the primitive service, and is referred to by Clement of Alexandria (vii, 12, Porter p. 880), Athanasius (*de Trin. et Spir. Sanct.,* 16), and by others. In the *Dêr Balyzeh Papyrus* the *Sanctus* is found in its typical Egyptian form. The Ethiopic Church Order has no *Sanctus.* Like the *Dêr Balyzeh Papyrus,* the *Sacramentary of Sarapion* takes its cue of the *Sanctus* from the word "full" and is thus typically Egyptian; whereas the cue in Syria is taken from the word "holy." The *Sanctus* in *Sarapion* is quite simple, as in St. Mark and in the Ethiopic liturgy. The later Syrian, Byzantine, and Roman liturgies add Hosanna and *Benedictus qui venit.* In the *Testament of Our Lord* the *Benedictus qui venit* comes just after the Communion. The *Sanctus* does not occur in the *Testament of Our Lord,* though perhaps it is implied in the words, "Thou, Lord, the founder of the heights . . ."

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[29] Hammond, *Liturgies Eastern and Western,* Oxford, 1878, p. 182, note 1.

L. M. It is not always possible to distinguish with certainty between the Commemoration and the technical *Anamnesis* in early liturgical forms (conf. the *Testament of Our Lord*). The *Anamnesis* naturally follows the Words of Institution and is of a memorial nature. Sometimes there is both a Commemoration and an *Anamnesis,* as in the *Ethiopic Church Order,* and sometimes there is only an *Anamnesis* as in the *Papyrus Dêr Balyzeh.* As early as the time of St. Cyril of Alexandria, we have evidence, in his letter to Nestorius (V. 72c), that among Egyptian writers, the *Anamnesis* or Commemoration was known. The *Papyrus of Dêr Balyzeh* has an *Anamnesis* very similar to that of St. Mark, especially in its opening words, though the prayer is more subjective in character, and in this shows its early date. The *Papyrus* has "fill also *us* with the glory which is from thee," instead of "fill *this sacrifice* with thy power," as in *Sarapion,* or "with the blessing which is from thee," as in St. Mark. The *Anamnesis* is very short in the *Ethiopic Church Order,* but is quite obvious, being: "Remembering therefore his death and resurrection." In *Sarapion* there is no expressed Commemoration, though such a phrase as "for to thee we have offered this living sacrifice—to thee we have offered this bread, the likeness of the body of the only-begotten—we have also offered the cup, presenting a likeness of the blood" undoubtedly constitutes an *Anamnesis* and may imply a Commemoration. The Commemoration and *Anamnesis* in the *Testament of Our Lord* are very clear, and much fuller than in St. Mark, which is quite primitive in its brevity.

The διάταξις, or record of our Lord's institution of the Eucharist, occurs in the *Papyrus of Dêr Balyzeh,* where it appears in a form similar to St. Mark; in the *Ethiopic Church Order,* where it is very simple and undeveloped; and in the *Sacramentary of Sarapion,* which contains several striking parallels to St. Mark and to the later Egyptian liturgies. The words spoken over the cup in *Sarapion* are very unusual; they read: "This is the new covenant, which is my blood, which is being poured out for you for the remission of sins." Nearly all the liturgies contain the Words of Institution. There are a few exceptions, however, the most important being the liturgy of Addai and Mari. Some liturgies, including the Ethiopic, alter the words considerably, and some, such as the Syriac liturgies, amplify them; but the best liturgies, such as St. Mark, adhere very closely to what are considered the original words. In almost all the Oriental liturgies the Words of Institution are followed by "Amen."

The Oblation is closely connected with the Commemoration, as may be seen from the *Ethiopic Church Order,* which reads: "Remembering therefore his death and resurrection, we offer thee the bread and the cup, giving thanks to thee that thou hast made us worthy to stand before thee, and minister unto thee." The *Papyrus of Dêr Balyzeh* has no Oblation, and the Oblation in *Sarapion* is very brief. The *Testament of Our Lord* has a form very similar to that of the *Ethiopic Church Order.* It reads: "Remembering therefore thy death and resurrection we offer to thee bread and the cup—we offer to thee this Thanksgiving—we have brought this drink and this food of thy holiness [to thee]." St. Mark has a form which corresponds to the very unusual one used by the Church in Constantinople. It reads: "We have placed before thee what is thine from thine own mercies." The Constantinopolitan form reads: "We offer thee thine own of thine own."

The three Coptic liturgies have the same, though the Ethiopic has not. There is, however, not sufficient evidence to show with certainty that the form is later than primitive Mark.[30]

N. The ἐπίκλησις or Invocation is generally introduced by a paragraph which contains the Commemoration, the Oblation, and the Institution. The first reference in Egyptian Fathers to the Invocation of the Holy Spirit is found in Peter of Alexandria, the successor of Athanasius. He is followed by Theophilus of Alexandria and Isidore of Pelusium. The usual Alexandrian tradition associates the Consecration with the operation of the Logos; this Clement and Athanasius make quite clear. *Dêr Balyzeh* contains a short Invocation of the Holy Spirit, which precedes the Institution and Commemoration. The position is rather remarkable, but the document is too fragmentary to prove that there was not a second Invocation as there is in *Sarapion,* St. Mark, and Coptic Cyril. The Invocation in the *Ethiopic Church Order* is addressed to the Holy Spirit, and is a request for a blessing on those who are to partake of the Communion. The later form, in which the petition is made that the operation of the Holy Spirit may result in the elements' becoming the body and blood of Christ, is not referred to. The form reads: "And we beseech thee to send thy Holy Spirit upon this oblation of the Church, that in joining [them] together thou mayest grant to them, to all of them, to those who take of it, that it may be to them for holiness and for filling [them] with the Holy Spirit, and for strengthening of faith in truth, that they may glorify and praise thee, through thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ." The account in the *Verona Fragments* has in addition an ascription of praise to the Trinity, and a prayer for the blessing of oil, cheese, and olives. The Invocation in the *Sacramentary of Sarapion* is characteristically Egyptian, in that the operation of the Logos is invoked as in the days of Clement and Athanasius. The prayer reads: "O God of truth, let thy holy Word come upon this bread, that the bread may become the body of the Word, and upon this cup, that the cup may become blood of the truth; and cause all that communicate to receive medicine of life for healing of every sickness and for strengthening of all progress and virtue, not for condemnation, O God of truth, and not for censure and reproach, for we call upon thee the uncreated, through the only-begotten in the Holy Spirit." There follows a request that the bread and wine become the body and blood of Christ. *Sarapion* has in addition a preliminary Invocation before the Institution. In the *Testament of Our Lord* the Invocation comes after the Institution and, as in the *Ethiopic Church Order,* is a prayer for the fruitful effects of the sacrament in the soul of the worshipper. It is peculiar in that it is addressed to the Trinity. The Invocation in St. Mark, as well as in Coptic Cyril, is much more elaborate than in the Constantinopolitan liturgies. However, the Ethiopic liturgy, as well as Basil and Gregory, has a brief Invocation. Like *Sarapion* and Coptic Cyril, St. Mark has a double Invocation, one before and one after the Words of Institution. The former reads: "Fill, O God, this sacrifice with thy blessing, through the inspiration of thy all-holy Spirit"; and the latter: "Send down upon us also, and upon this bread and upon these cups, thy Holy Spirit, that by his all-powerful and divine influence he may sanctify and consecrate them, and make this bread the body and this cup the blood of the new testament, of the very Lord, and God, and Saviour, and universal King, Christ Jesus. That to all of us who partake thereof they may tend unto faith, sobriety, healing, temperance, sanctification, the renewal of soul, body, and spirit, participation in the blessedness of eternal life and immortality, the glory of thy most holy name, and the remission of sins, that thy most holy, precious, and glorious name may be praised and glorified in this, as in all things." The operation of the Holy Spirit is invoked not only to make the bread and wine the body and blood of Christ, but also that the partakers of it may be abundantly blessed. We have here the union of the two earliest forms. In the introduction to the latter and more elaborate Invocation, the Holy Spirit is referred to in such terms as would point to a date later than St. Athanasius. The term "consubstantial" was not used with regard to the Holy Spirit till his divine nature was denied by Macedonius, for which he was condemned at the Council of Constantinople in 381.

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[30] See below p. 242.

This would raise the question as to whether the clause containing this word, and the corresponding ideas, was in the liturgy of St. Mark when it was taken to Ethiopia by Frumentius. A negative answer is the most probable. Therefore the whole phrase dealing with that theological aspect of the Holy Spirit is most likely a later addition. In the Greek it reads: αὐτὸν τὸν παράκλητον, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας τὸ ἅγιον τὸ κύριον τὸ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐν νόμῳ καὶ προφήταις καὶ ἀποστόλοις λαλῆσαν, τὸ πανταχοῦ παρὸν καὶ τὰ πάντα πληροῦν ἐνεργοῦν τε αὐτεξουσίως οὐ διακονικῶς ἐφ᾽ οὓς βούλεται τὸν ἁγιασμὸν εὐδοκίᾳ τῇ σῇ, τὸ ἁπλοῦν τὴν φύσιν, τὸ πολυμερὲς τὴν ἐνέργειαν, τὴν τῶν θείων χαρισμάτων πηγήν, τὸ σοὶ ὁμοούσιον, τὸ ἐκ σοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σύνθρονον τῆς βασιλείας σου καὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

O. The Great Intercession or prayer for the whole Church is found in different places. In the Syrian and Byzantine liturgies it follows the Invocation; in the Egyptian liturgies, except Coptic Basil and Gregory, it comes before the Commemoration and Institution; and in the East Syrian liturgies it follows the Institution and precedes the Invocation. In the *Papyrus of Dêr Balyzeh* no remnant of the Intercession has survived. The only prayer in the *Ethiopic Church Order* which precedes the Communion is a prayer for the communicants; and nothing is said about the departed. In the *Sacramentary of Sarapion* there is a similar prayer, but it contains a recital of names of the departed and intercedes for them. Mr. Bishop in *Jr. Th. Studies* XIV, 27-36, argues that the intercessory part is not original. But Cyril of Jerusalem (*Cat.* XXIII, 9; cf. Epiphanius *Haer.* LXXV, 3, 8) mentions the Commemoration of the departed as coming after the Invocation; and the custom may have been borrowed in Egypt from Jerusalem. At any rate *Sarapion* is the earliest liturgical form having a recital of names—"We intercede also on behalf of all who have been laid to rest, whose memorial we are making. *After the recitation of the names:* Sanctify these souls" etc. The *Testament of Our Lord* has a short Intercession which seems to have been inserted into the middle of the Invocation. According to the oldest documents, then, the Intercession came originally after the Invocation. It should be noted that in *Sarapion* and the *Testament of Our Lord* the Christian communities only are prayed for, while in Cyril the Emperor and the whole Empire are included.

Woolley, in the *Liturgy of the Primitive Church* (pp. 124ff), suggests that the Egyptian liturgies give evidence of an attempt to unite the intercessions of the old morning service (which later became the Pro-anaphora) with the intercessions in the Anaphora, by placing them together in the early part of the Anaphora. It, however, was not successfully done. This, he thinks, explains also the further transposition found in the Roman liturgy, which has resulted in much confusion, part of the intercessions being before and part after the Consecration. St. Mark, as already noted, places its Intercession in the Preface, contrary to ancient custom. It is questionable whether this transposition was made previous to the founding of the Ethiopic Church; but since the *Testament of Our Lord* is the source of the *Anaphora of Our Lord,* and both have the Intercession immediately following the Invocation, it seems likely that the form used in the Ethiopic Church had the same order, and we may feel justified in concluding that the order in St. Mark was changed after it was adopted in Abyssinia. The later normal Anaphora of the Ethiopic Church may well have altered its original position to agree with Coptic Cyril and the later St. Mark. Moreover, it is significant that the position of the Intercession in the extant form of St. Mark breaks into the midst of the Thanksgiving in the Preface, and thus seems out of place. In view of these considerations, in reconstructing St. Mark as the oldest Ethiopic liturgy, I have changed the position of the Intercession to agree with its position in the *Sacramentary of Sarapion* and in the *Testament of Our Lord,* which seem to have preserved the most primitive order.

P. The Lord's Prayer in the liturgy is referred to by Synesius (*de Regno,* 9), but there is no mention of it in the fourth century. The *Sancta Sanctis* is not attested to in Egypt earlier than Cyril of Alexandria (*Ioann.* XII). Neither *Dêr Balyzeh* nor the *Ethiopic Church Order* refers to the Lord's Prayer, though the latter has a prayer for communicants and the *Sancta Sanctis* with response. The *Sacramentary of Sarapion* has a rubric after the prayer for communicants, containing the phrase "after the prayer," which Brightman[31] thinks refers to the Lord's Prayer; but this is questionable. The liturgy has, however, a Fraction prayer, which is characteristic of Egyptian rites, and, in the Coptic rites, introduces the Lord's Prayer. It has no reference to the *Sancta Sanctis.* The *Testament of Our Lord* has a prayer after[32] the Communion, which contains a petition that seems to prove the use of the Lord's Prayer. It reads: "Grant—that with boldness I may call thee Father, when I call for thy kingdom and thy will to come to me. May thy name be hallowed in me, O Lord, for thou art mighty and to be praised, and to thee be praise for ever and ever." Now the fact that the Lord's Prayer does not occur in the earliest liturgical forms may be explained by the supposition that it was so well known that it did not require written form. The *Testament of Our Lord* places the *Sancta Sanctis* in the Preface. Both *Sarapion* and the *Testament of Our Lord* have the *Benedictus qui venit* before the Communion. The same is true of the *A. C. VIII* (12), but it is absent from St. Mark. In St. Mark the Lord's Prayer precedes the Fraction as it does in the Antiochian liturgies; but it follows the Fraction in the Coptic liturgies and some of the others. In the late Ethiopic liturgy it comes after the Communion, as perhaps also in the *Testament of Our Lord* and in the Anglican rite. In addition there is a prayer which is quite eucharistic, called the prayer of Inclination; but it is more intercessory as it appears in Chrysostom.

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[31] *Jr. of Theol. Studies*, I. 113.

[32] See, for discussion of position, Woolley, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

Q. The Manual Acts, or ceremonial manipulation of the consecrated bread and wine, come after the Lord's Prayer in St. Mark and some of the other liturgies; but partly before and partly after in others. A hymn or proclamation generally takes place during the acts. The ὕψωσις, or Elevation, is not found in early liturgical forms, nor in St. Mark. The Fraction is alluded to by Cyril of Alexandria (*in Matt.* XXVI, 27 *ap. Corder. Catena in Matt. ii,* 754), but is absent from *Dêr Balyzeh,* and from the *Ethiopic Church Order,* although so far as the latter is concerned this may be only accidental, as it is found in the Baptismal Eucharist of the same Order. The Fraction occurs in the *Sacramentary of Sarapion* after the prayer which is thought to be the Lord's Prayer; it is, however, absent from the *Testament of Our Lord,* but present in St. Mark.

R. The Communion is always accompanied by the words of administration, which are quite various. The words of administration in *Dêr Balyzeh* are not preserved. In the Baptismal Eucharist of the *Ethiopic Church Order* we have the words of administration as follows: "This is the bread of heaven, the body of the Christ Jesus—This is the blood of Jesus Christ our Lord." In the *Sacramentary of Sarapion* the words of administration are not given, nor are they in the *Testament of Our Lord,* although there is an abundance of prayers. The form used, however, may, like the Lord's Prayer, have been so familiar, that it was not felt necessary to record them. St. Mark's words are simple and early. The oldest manuscripts of St. Mark have preserved a litany after the Communion which is Byzantine in character and does not belong to primitive Mark.

S. The *Papyrus Dêr Balyzeh* has a prayer for the fruits of Communion; in the *Ethiopic Church Order* there is found a Thanksgiving; in the *Sacramentary of Sarapion* there is a prayer concerning oil and water with the Thanksgiving; and the *Testament of Our Lord* has a Post-Communion prayer of Thanksgiving. St. Mark has two prayers, the first being a thanksgiving, and the second an intercession for those who have communicated.

T. As early as Athanasius, in Egypt, we find a mention of the Dismissal (*Hist. Arian.* 55). *Dêr Balyzeh* does not refer to it; but in the *Ethiopic Church Order* we have a rubric which speaks of the *laying on of the hand after they have received,* and immediately after that the deacon says "Go in peace." The *Sacramentary of Sarapion* has a final prayer of "laying on of hands," but has no direct expression of dismissal, though such an expression might well have been used. There is no reference to a final Benediction or Dismissal in the *Testament of Our Lord.* In St. Mark the rubric says, *The Priest dismisses them, and says:* "May God bless, who blesseth and sanctifieth, who defendeth and preserveth us all through the partaking of his holy mysteries; and who is blessed for ever. Amen."

THE EARLIEST COMPLETE
ETHIOPIC LITURGY
BEING
THE LITURGY OF ST. MARK
RECONSTRUCTED IN ITS PROBABLE
FIFTH CENTURY FORM[1]

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[1] This reconstruction is made on the basis of the text published in *LEW* 113-143.

THE LITURGY

⟨MASS OF THE CATECHUMENS⟩

⟨The Little Entrance⟩

Ὁ ἱερεύς
Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν

ὁ λαός
Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σοῦ

ὁ διάκονος
Ἐπὶ προσευχὴν στάθητε

ὁ λαός
Κύριε ἐλέησον

ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς ἐπεύχεται
εὐχὴ τῆς εἰσόδου καὶ εἰς τὸ θυμίαμα

Δέσποτα Χριστὲ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τὴν δωδεκάφωτον λαμπάδα τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων ἐκλεξάμενος καὶ ἐξαποστείλας αὐτοὺς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ κηρῦξαι καὶ διδάξαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας σου καὶ θεραπεύειν πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν ἐν τῷ λαῷ καὶ ἐμφυσήσας εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν καὶ εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς λάβετε πνεῦμα ἅγιον τὸν παράκλητον· ἄν τινων ἀφίετε τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἀφέωνται αὐτοῖς, ἄν τινων κρατεῖτε κεκράτηνται· οὕτως καὶ ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς τοὺς περιεστηκότας δούλους σου ἐν τῇ εἰσόδῳ τῆς ἱερουργίας ταύτης ἐπισκόπους πρεσβυτέρους διακόνους ἀναγνώστας ψάλτας τε καὶ λαϊκοὺς σὺν παντὶ τῷ πληρώματι τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας· ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς Κύριε ἀπὸ ἀρᾶς καὶ κατάρας καὶ ἀπὸ ἀναθέματος καὶ δεσμοῦ καὶ ἀφορισμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῆς μερίδος τοῦ ἀντικειμένου καὶ καθάρισον ἡμῶν τὰ χείλη καὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης ῥᾳδιουργίας ἵνα ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ καὶ καθαρῷ συνειδότι προσφέρωμέν σοι τὸ θυμίαμα τοῦτο εἰς ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας καὶ εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν καὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου· χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ

ἐκφώνως

δι᾽ οὗ καὶ μεθ᾽ οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ [τὸ] κράτος σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων

ὁ λαός
Ἀμήν.

Ὁ διάκονος
Ὀρθοί

καὶ γίνεται ἡ εἴσοδος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου·
Καὶ λέγει ὁ διάκονος
Ἐπὶ προσευχὴν στάθητε

ὁ ἱερεύς
Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν

ὁ λαός
Καὶ τῷ πνεύματι σοῦ

ὁ διάκονος
Ἐπὶ προσευχὴν στάθητε

ὁ λαός
Κύριε ἐλέησον

Δέσποτα Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ὁ συναΐδιος Λόγος τοῦ ἀνάρχου Πατρός, ὁ καθ’ ἡμᾶς γενόμενος κατὰ πάντα χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐξαποστείλας τοὺς ἁγίους σου μαθητὰς καὶ ἀποστόλους κηρῦξαι καὶ διδάξαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας σου καὶ θεραπεύειν πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν ἐν τῷ λαῷ σου· αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν δέσποτα ἐξαπόστειλον τὸ φῶς σου καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειάν σου καὶ καταύγασον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς διανοίας ἡμῶν εἰς κατανόησιν τῶν θείων σου λογίων καὶ ἱκάνωσον ἡμᾶς ἀκροατὰς αὐτῶν γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ μόνον ἀκροατὰς ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιητὰς λόγου γενομένους εἰς τὸ καρποφορῆσαι καὶ ποιῆσαι καρποὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀνὰ τριάκοντα καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ὅπως καταξιωθῶμεν τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν

ἐκφώνως

καὶ ταχὺ προκαταλαβέτωσαν ἡμᾶς οἱ οἰκτιρμοί σου Κύριε σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ εὐαγγελισμὸς σωτὴρ καὶ φύλαξ τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ἀναπέμπομεν τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων

ὁ λαός
Ἀμήν.

⟨The Lections⟩

Σφραγίζει ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸν λαὸν λέγων

Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν

ὁ λαός

Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου

εἶτα τό

Πρόσχωμεν

Ο ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ.

Ο ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΛΛΗΛΟΥΙΑ.

Οἱ διάκονοι κατὰ ῥητὸν λέγουσι

Κύριε εὐλόγησον

ὁ ἱερεὺς λέγει

Ὁ Κύριος εὐλογήσει καὶ συνδιακονήσει ὑμῖν τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Ὁ ἱερεὺς πρὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου βάλλει θυμίαμα λέγων οὕτως

Θυμίαμα προσφέρομεν ἐνώπιον τῆς ἁγίας δόξης σου ὁ Θεός, ὃ προσδεξάμενος εἰς τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ὑπερουράνιον καὶ νοερόν σου θυσιαστήριον ἀντικατάπεμψον ἡμῖν τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος· ὅτι εὐλογημένος ὑπάρχεις καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων

Ὁ διάκονος ὅτε μέλλει εἰπεῖν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον λέγει

Κύριε εὐλόγησον

ὁ ἱερεύς

Ὁ Κύριος εὐλογήσει καὶ ἐνισχύσει καὶ ἀκροατὰς ἡμᾶς ποιήσει τοῦ ἁγίου αὐτοῦ εὐαγγελίου ὁ ὢν εὐλογητὸς Θεὸς νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν

ὁ διάκονος

Στάθητε· ἀκούσωμεν τοῦ ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου

ὁ ἱερεύς

Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν

ὁ λαός

Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου

καὶ λέγει τὸ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ.

⟨The Prayers⟩

ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐπεύχεται

Τοὺς νοσοῦντας Κύριε τοῦ λαοῦ σου ἐπισκεψάμενος ἐν ἐλέει καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς ἴασαι

Τοὺς ἀποδημήσαντας ἡμῶν ἀδελφοὺς ἢ μέλλοντας ἀποδημεῖν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ κατευόδωσον

ἕκαστον εἰς τὸν καιρόν

(1) Τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ὑετοὺς κατάπεμψον ἐπὶ τοὺς χρήζοντας καὶ ἐπιδεομένους τόπους (2) Τὰ ποτάμια ὕδατα ἀνάγαγε ἐπὶ τὸ μέτρον αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν σὴν χάριν (3) Τοὺς καρποὺς τῆς γῆς αὔξησον εἰς σπέρμα καὶ εἰς θερισμόν

Τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ δούλου σου ὃν ἐδικαίωσας βασιλεύειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ γαληνότητι διαφύλαξον

Τὴν ταπεινὴν καὶ ἐλεεινὴν καὶ φιλόχριστον πόλιν ταύτην ῥῦσαι αὐτὴν ὁ Θεὸς ἀφ' ἡμερῶν πονηρῶν, ἀπὸ λιμοῦ λοιμοῦ

καὶ ἐπαναστάσεως ἐθνῶν ὡς καὶ Νινευὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐφείσω ὅτι ἐλεήμων καὶ οἰκτίρμων εἶ καὶ ἀμνησίκακος ἐπὶ κακίας ἀνθρώπων. σὺ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου σου Ἠσαΐου εἶπας Ὑπερασπιῶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης τοῦ σῶσαι αὐτὴν. δι' ἐμὲ καὶ διὰ Δαυεὶδ τὸν παῖδά μου· διὸ δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε φιλάνθρωπε ἀγαθὲ ὑπεράσπισαι τῆς πόλεως ταύτης διὰ τὸν μάρτυρα καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν Μάρκον τὸν ὑποδείξαντα ἡμῖν ὁδὸν τῆς σωτηρίας· χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ

ἐκφώνως

δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

⟨MASS OF THE FAITHFUL⟩

Ὁ διάκονος

Ἄρξαι

καὶ λέγουσι τὸν ΣΤΙΧΟΝ.

Ὁ διάκονος λέγει τὰς γ'

ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐπεύχεται

Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ *πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν* Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε τὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εἰρήνην βράβευσον ταῖς ἁπάντων ἡμῶν καρδίαις ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ βίου τούτου τὴν εἰρήνην ἡμῖν δώρησαι*

Τὸν *ἁγιώτατον καὶ μακαριώτατον ἡμῶν πάπαν* **τὸν δ. καὶ** *τὸν ὁσιώτατον ἡμῶν ἐπίσκοπον τὸν δ. συντηρῶν συντήρησον ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς ἔτεσι πολλοῖς, χρόνοις εἰρηνικοῖς ἐκτελοῦντας τὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐμπεπιστευμένην ἁγίαν ἀρχιερωσύνην κατὰ τὸ ἅγιον καὶ μακάριόν σου θέλημα, ὀρθοτομοῦντας τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας, σὺν πᾶσιν ὀρθοδόξοις ἐπισκόποις πρεσβυτέροις διακόν-*

οις ὑποδιακόνοις ἀναγνώσταις ψάλταις, σὺν παντὶ τῷ πληρώματι τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας

Τὰς ἐπισυναγωγὰς ἡμῶν Κύριε εὐλόγησον, δὸς αὐτὰς ἀκωλύτως καὶ ἀνεμποδίστως γενέσθαι κατὰ τὸ ἅγιόν σου θέλημα· οἴκους εὐχῶν, οἴκους εὐλογιῶν ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς δούλοις σου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα δώρησαι. ἐξεγέρθητι Κύριε καὶ διασκορπισθήτωσαν οἱ ἐχθροί σου, φυγέτωσαν πάντες οἱ μισοῦντες τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον· τὸν δὲ λαόν σου τὸν πιστὸν καὶ ὀρθόδοξον εὐλόγησον, ποίησον αὐτὸν εἰς χιλιάδας καὶ μυριάδας καὶ μὴ κατισχύσῃ θάνατος ἁμαρτίας καθ' ἡμῶν μηδὲ κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου· χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ

ἐκφώνως

δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων

ὁ λαός

Ἀμήν.

Ὁ ἱερεύς

Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν

ὁ λαός

Καὶ τῷ πνεύματι σοῦ

ὁ διάκονος

Βλέπετε μή τις τῶν κατηχουμένων.

⟨The Kiss of Peace⟩

'Ο διάκονος

Ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους

ὁ ἱερεὺς εὐχὴν τοῦ ἀσπασμοῦ

Δέσποτα Κύριε παντοκράτορ οὐρανόθεν ἐπίβλεψον ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν σου καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα τὸν λαόν σου καὶ πᾶν τὸ ποίμνιόν σου καὶ σῶσον πάντας ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀναξίους δούλους σου, τὰ θρέμματα τῆς σῆς ἀγέλης, καὶ δώρησαι ἡμῖν τὴν σὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν σὴν ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν σὴν βοήθειαν καὶ κατάπεμψον ἡμῖν τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος ὅπως ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ καὶ συνειδήσει ἀγαθῇ ἀσπασώμεθα ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ, μὴ ἐν δόλῳ, μὴ ἐν ὑποκρίσει, μὴ τὴν τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου κεκτημένοι προαίρεσιν ἀλλὰ ἄμωμον καὶ ἄσπιλον, ἐν ἑνὶ πνεύματι, ἐν τῷ συνδέσμῳ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης ἓν σῶμα καὶ ἓν πνεῦμα, ἐν μιᾷ πίστει καθὼς καὶ ἐκλήθημεν ἐν μιᾷ ἐλπίδι τῆς κλήσεως ἡμῶν ὅπως καταντήσωμεν οἱ πάντες εἰς τὴν θείαν καὶ ἀπέραντον στοργήν· ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν μεθ' οὗ εὐλογητὸς εἶ σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

⟨ANAPHORA⟩

⟨The Thanksgiving⟩

'Ο ἱερεύς

'Ο Κύριος μετὰ πάντων

ὁ λαός

Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος σοῦ

ὁ ἱερεύς

Ἄνω ἡμῶν τὰς καρδίας

ὁ λαός

Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον

ὁ ἱερεύς

Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ

ὁ λαός

Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον

ὁ διάκονος

Πετάσατε

ὁ ἱερεὺς ἄρχεται τῆς ἀναφορᾶς

Ἀληθῶς γὰρ ἄξιόν ἐστιν καὶ δίκαιον ὅσιόν τε καὶ πρέπον καὶ ταῖς ἡμετέραις ψυχαῖς ἐπωφελὲς ὁ ὢν δέσποτα Κύριε Θεὲ Πάτερ παντοκράτορ σὲ αἰνεῖν σὲ ὑμνεῖν σοὶ εὐχαριστεῖν σοὶ ἀνθομολογεῖσθαι νύκτωρ τε καὶ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἀκαταπαύστῳ στόματι καὶ ἀσιγήτοις χείλεσι καὶ ἀσιωπήτῳ καρδίᾳ, σοὶ τῷ ποιήσαντι τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, γῆν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, θαλάσσας πηγὰς ποταμοὺς λίμνας καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, σοὶ τῷ ποιήσαντι τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ᾽ ἰδίαν εἰκόνα καὶ καθ᾽ ὁμοίωσιν ᾧ καὶ ἐχαρίσω τὴν ἐν παραδείσῳ τρυφήν· παραβάντα δὲ αὐτὸν οὐχ ὑπερεῖδες οὐδὲ ἐγκατέλιπες ἀγαθὲ ἀλλὰ πάλιν ἀνεκαλέσω διὰ νόμου, ἐπαιδαγώγησας διὰ προφητῶν, ἀνέπλασας καὶ ἀνεκαίνισας διὰ τοῦ φρικτοῦ καὶ ζωοποιοῦ καὶ οὐρανίου μυστηρίου τούτου, πάντα δὲ ἐποίησας διὰ τῆς σῆς σοφίας, τοῦ φωτὸς τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δι᾽ οὗ σοὶ σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι εὐχαριστοῦντες προσφέρομεν τὴν λογικὴν καὶ ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν ταύτην ἣν προσφέρει σοι Κύριε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου καὶ μέχρι δυσμῶν, ἀπὸ ἄρκτου καὶ [μέχρι] μεσημβρίας, ὅτι μέγα τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι καὶ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ θυμίαμα προσφέρεται τῷ ὀνόματι τῷ ἁγίῳ σου καὶ θυσία καθαρά, ἐπιθυσία καὶ προσφορά.

Ὁ διάκονος

Εἰς ἀνατολὰς βλέψατε

καὶ κλίνει ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ εὔχεται

Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι· σοὶ παραστήκουσι χίλιαι χιλιάδες καὶ μύριαι μυριάδες ἁγίων ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων στρατιαί, σοὶ παραστήκουσι τὰ δυὸ τιμιώτατά σου ζῶα, τὰ πολυόμματα χερουβὶμ καὶ τὰ ἑξαπτέρυγα σεραφὶμ ἃ δυσὶ μὲν πτέρυξι τὰ πρόσωπα καλύπτοντα καὶ δυσὶ τοὺς πόδας καὶ δυσὶν ἱπτάμενα καὶ κέκραγεν ἕτερος πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον ἀκαταπαύστοις στόμασι καὶ ἀσιγήτοις θεολογίαις τὸν ἐπινίκιον καὶ τρισάγιον ὕμνον ᾄδοντα βοῶντα δοξολογοῦντα κεκραγότα καὶ λέγοντα τῇ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ σου δόξῃ Ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος Κύριος σαβαὼθ πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς ἁγίας σου δόξης

ἐκφώνως

πάντοτε μὲν πάντα σε ἁγιάζει ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ πάντων τῶν σε ἁγιαζόντων δέξαι δέσποτα Κύριε καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον ἁγιασμὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς ὑμνούντων καὶ λεγόντων

ὁ λαός

Ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος Κύριος σαβαὼθ
πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς ἁγίας σου δόξης

ὁ ἱερεὺς σφραγίζων τὰ ἅγια λέγει

πλήρης γάρ ἐστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς ἁγίας σου δόξης διὰ τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· πλήρωσον ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ταύτην τὴν θυσίαν τῆς παρὰ σοῦ εὐλογίας διὰ τῆς ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος· ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος καὶ θεὸς καὶ παμβασιλεὺς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ χριστὸς τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδου ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑφίστατο θάνατον σαρκὶ συνανακλιθεὶς μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων ἄρτον λαβὼν ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἀχράντων καὶ ἀμώμων αὐτοῦ χειρῶν, ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν πρὸς σὲ τὸν ἴδιον πατέρα θεὸν δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ θεὸν τῶν ὅλων, εὐχαριστήσας εὐλογήσας ἁγιάσας κλάσας διέδωκε τοῖς ἁγίοις καὶ μακαρίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοις εἰπών

ἐκφώνως
Λάβετε φάγετε

ὁ διάκονος
Ἐκτείνατε

ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐκφώνως

τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλώμενον καί διαδιδόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν

ὁ λαός
Ἀμήν

ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς λέγει ἐπευχόμενος

ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι λαβὼν καὶ κεράσας ἐξ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν πρὸς σὲ τὸν ἴδιον πατέρα θεὸν δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ θεὸν τῶν ὅλων, εὐχαριστήσας εὐλογήσας ἁγιάσας πλήσας Πνεύματος ἁγίου μετέδωκε τοῖς ἁγίοις καὶ μακαρίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοις εἰπών

ἐκφώνως
Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες

ὁ διάκονος
Ἔτι ἐκτείνατε

ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐκφώνως

τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου τὸ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον καὶ διαδιδόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν

ὁ λαός

Ἀμήν

ὁ ἱερεὺς εὔχεται οὕτως

τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν· ὁσάκις γάρ ἐὰν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον, πίνητε δὲ καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο, τὸν ἐμὸν θάνατον καταγγέλλετε καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάστασιν καὶ ἀνάληψιν ὁμολογεῖτε ἄχρις οὗ ἐὰν ἔλθω.

⟨The Invocation⟩

Τὸν θάνατον, δέσποτα Κύριε παντοκράτωρ ἐπουράνιε βασιλεῦ, τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ κυρίου δὲ καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καταγγέλλοντες καὶ τὴν τριήμερον καὶ μακαρίαν αὐτοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν ὁμολογοῦντες καὶ τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάληψιν καὶ τὴν ἐκ δεξιῶν σου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς καθέδραν, καὶ τὴν δευτέραν καὶ φρικτὴν καὶ φοβερὰν αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι ἐν ᾗ μέλλει ἔρχεσθαι κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ· ⟨φεῖσαι ἡμῶν Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν· σοὶ ἐκ τῶν σῶν δώρων προεθήκαμεν ἐνώπιόν σου⟩[2]· ἔπιδε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ⟨ἐξαπόστειλον⟩ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρτους τούτους καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ποτήρια ταῦτα τὸ Πνεῦμά σου τὸ Ἅγιον ἵνα αὐτὰ ἁγιάσῃ καὶ τελειώσῃ ὡς παντοδύναμος Θεός

ἐκφώνως

καὶ ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα

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[2] The antiquity of this Oblation is questionable.

ὁ λαός

Ἀμήν

ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐκφώνως

τὸ δὲ ποτήριον αἷμα τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος καὶ παμβασιλέως ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

ὁ διάκονος

Κατέλθετε οἱ διάκονοι

ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐκφώνως

ἵνα γένωνται πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνουσιν εἰς πίστιν, εἰς νῆψιν, εἰς ἴασιν, εἰς σωφροσύνην, εἰς ἁγιασμόν, εἰς ἐπανανέωσιν ψυχῆς σώματος καὶ πνεύματος, εἰς κοινωνίαν μακαριότητος ζωῆς αἰωνίου καὶ ἀφθαρσίας, εἰς δοξολογίαν τοῦ παναγίου σου ὀνόματος, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, ἵνα σοῦ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ καθὼς καὶ ἐν παντὶ δοξασθῇ καὶ ὑμνηθῇ καὶ ἁγιασθῇ τὸ πανάγιον καὶ ἔντιμον καὶ δεδοξασμένον σου ὄνομα σὺν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι

ὁ λαός

Ὥσπερ ἦν καὶ ἐστίν.

⟨THE INTERCESSION⟩

Καὶ δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε φιλάνθρωπε ἀγαθὲ μνήσθητι Κύριε τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μόνης καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἀπὸ γῆς περάτων μέχρι τῶν περάτων αὐτῆς, πάντων τῶν λαῶν καὶ πάντων τῶν ποιμνίων σου· πάντας ἄγαγε εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς σωτηρίας, σύναψον καὶ αὐτὴν τῇ ἁγίᾳ σου ποίμνῃ, ἡμᾶς δε ῥῦσαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνομιῶν ἡμῶν φρουρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ἀντιλήπτωρ κατὰ πάντα γενόμενος.

⟨The Lord's Prayer⟩

Ὁ ἱερεύς
Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν

ὁ λαός
Καὶ τῷ πνεύματι σοῦ

ὁ διάκονος
Προσεύξασθε

ὁ λαός
Κύριε ἐλέησον

ὁ ἱερεὺς εὔχεται καθ' ἑαυτόν

Θεὲ φωτὸς γεννῆτορ, ζωῆς ἀρχηγέ, χάριτος ποιητά, αἰωνίων θεμελιωτά, γνώσεως δωροδότα, σοφίας θησαυρέ, ἁγιωσύνης διδάσκαλε, εὐχῶν καθαρῶν δοχεῦ, ψυχῆς εὐεργέτα, ὁ τοῖς ὀλιγοψύχοις εἰς σὲ πεποιθόσι διδοὺς εἰς ἃ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακύψαι, ὁ ἀναγαγὼν ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἀβύσσου εἰς φῶς, ὁ δοὺς ἡμῖν ἐκ θανάτου ζωήν, ὁ χαρισάμενος ἡμῖν ἐκ δουλείας εἰς ἐλευθερίαν, ὁ τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν σκότος τῆς ἁμαρτίας διὰ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ λύσας· αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν δέσποτα Κύριε διὰ τῆς ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος καταύγασον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς διανοίας ἡμῶν εἰς τὸ μεταλαβεῖν ἀκατακρίτως τῆς ἀθανάτου καὶ ἐπουρανίου ταύτης τροφῆς καὶ ἁγίασον ἡμᾶς ὁλοτελεῖς ψυχῇ σώματι καὶ πνεύματι ἵνα μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων σου μαθητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων εἴπωμεν σοὶ τὴν προσευχὴν ταύτην τὸ Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου, ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, γενηθήτω τό θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμὸν ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ

ἐκφώνως

καὶ καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς δέσποτα φιλάνθρωπε Κύριε μετὰ παρρησίας ἀκατακρίτως ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ, ψυχῇ πεφωτισμένῃ ἀνεπαισχύντῳ προσώπῳ, ἡγιασμένοις χείλεσιν τολμᾶν ἐπικαλεῖσθαί σε τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἅγιον Θεὸν Πατέρα καὶ λέγειν

ὁ λαός

Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου, ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκης ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμὸν ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ[3]

ὁ ἱερεὺς εὔχεται

Ναὶ Κύριε Κύριε μὴ εἰσενέγκης ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμὸν ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ, οἶδεν γὰρ ἡ πολλή σου εὐσπλαγχνία ὅτι οὐ δυνάμεθα ὑπενεγκεῖν διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἡμῶν ἀσθένειαν, ἀλλὰ ποίησον σὺν τῷ πειρασμῷ καὶ τὴν ἔκβασιν τοῦ δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς ὑπενεγκεῖν· σὺ γὰρ ἔδωκας ἡμῖν ἐξουσίαν πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄφεων καὶ σκορπίων καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ

ἐκφώνως

ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων

ὁ λαός

Ἀμήν.

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[3] May not have been written in full in the fifth century.

⟨The Inclination⟩

Ὁ ἱερεύς
Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν

ὁ λαός
Καὶ τῷ πνεύματι σοῦ

ὁ διάκονος
Τὰς κεφαλὰς ἡμῶν [τῷ Κυρίῳ κλίνωμεν

ὁ λαός
Ἐνώπιον σοῦ Κύριε]

ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐπεύχεται

Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβὶμ καὶ δοξαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν σεραφίμ, ὁ ἐξ ὑδάτων οὐρανὸν σκευάσας καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἀστέρων χοροῖς τοῦτον κατακοσμήσας, ὁ ἐν ὑψίστοις ἀσωμάτους ἀγγέλων συστησάμενος στρατιὰς πρὸς ἀεννάους δοξολογίας· σοὶ ἐκλίναμεν τὸν αὐχένα τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν τὸ τῆς δουλείας πρόσχημα σημαίνοντες καὶ δεόμεθά σου τὰς σκοτοειδεῖς τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἐφόδους ἐκ τῆς ἡμῶν διανοίας ἀπέλασον καὶ ταῖς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος θεοειδέσιν αὐγαῖς τὸν ἡμέτερον νοῦν καταφαίδρυνον ὅπως τῇ γνώσει σου πληθυνόμενοι ἀξίως μετάσχωμεν τῶν προκειμένων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν τοῦ ἀχράντου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, συγχωρῶν ἡμῖν πᾶν εἶδος ἁμαρτιῶν διὰ τὴν πολλὴν καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστόν σου ἀγαθότητα· χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ

[ἐκφώνως]

δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων

ὁ λαός

Ἀμήν.

⟨THE MANUAL ACTS⟩

Ἐκφωνεῖ ὁ ἱερεύς

Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν

ὁ λαός

Καὶ τῷ πνεύματι σοῦ

ὁ διάκονος

Μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ πρόσχωμεν

ὁ ἱερεὺς εὔχεται

Ἅγιε ὕψιστε φοβερὲ ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος Κύριε, ἁγίασον ἡμᾶς τῷ λόγῳ τῆς σῆς χάριτος καὶ τῇ ἐπιφοιτήσει τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος· σὺ γὰρ εἶπας δέσποτα Ἅγιοι ἔσεσθε ὅτι ἐγὼ ἅγιος εἰμί. Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἀκατάληπτε Θεὲ Λόγε τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι συναΐδιε καὶ συνάναρχε, πρόσδεξαι τὸν ἀκήρατον ὕμνον σὺν τοῖς χερουβὶμ καὶ σεραφὶμ καὶ παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ καὶ ἀναξίου δούλου σου ἐξ ἀναξίων μου χειλέων βοῶντος καὶ λέγοντος

[ὁ λαός]

Κύριε ἐλέησον, Κύριε ἐλέησον, Κύριε ἐλέησον

ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐκφώνως

Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις

ὁ λαός

Εἷς Πατὴρ ἅγιος, εἷς Υἱὸς ἅγιος, ἓν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον
εἰς ἑνότητα Πνεύματος ἁγίου
ἀμήν.

Ὁ διάκονος
Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ ἀντιλήψεως

Ὁ ἱερεὺς σφραγίζων τὸν λαὸν ἐκφωνεῖ
Ὁ Κύριος μετὰ πάντων

ὁ λαός
Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος σοῦ

καὶ κλάνει ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸν ἄρτον καὶ λέγει
Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Θεὸν ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις

καὶ μελίζει ὁ ἱερεὺς λέγων τοῖς παροῦσιν
Ὁ Κύριος εὐλογήσει καὶ συνδιακονήσει διὰ τῆς κτλ.

Καὶ λέγει ὁ ἱερεύς
Κελεύετε

ὁ κλῆρος
Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον κελεύει καὶ ἁγιάζει

ὁ ἱερεύς
Ἰδοὺ ἡγίασται καὶ τετελείωται

ὁ κλῆρος γ′
Εἷς Πατὴρ ἅγιος.

⟨The Communion⟩

Καὶ λέγει ὁ ἱερεύς
Ὁ Κύριος μετὰ πάντων

ὁ κλῆρος
Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος σοῦ

ὁ ἱερεὺς λέγει
Αὐτὸς ηὐλόγησεν

Καὶ μεταλαμβάνει ὁ ἱερεὺς
Εὐχὴ τῆς κατὰ φιλανθρωπίαν κτλ.

ἄλλο
Ὃν τρόπον ἐπιποθεῖ ἡ ἔλαφος ἐπὶ τὰς πηγάς τῶν ὑδάτων οὕτως ἐπιποθεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου πρὸς σὲ ὁ θεός

καὶ ὅταν μεταδιδοῖ τὸν κλῆρον λέγει
Σῶμα ἅγιον

καὶ εἰς τὸ ποτήριον λέγει
Αἷμα τίμιον τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν.

⟨Thanksgiving⟩

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ πληρῶσαι λέγει ὁ διάκονος
Ἐπὶ προσευχὴν στάθητε

ὁ ἱερεύς
Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν

ὁ λαός
Καὶ τῷ πνεύματι σοῦ

ὁ διάκονος
Προσεύξασθε

ὁ ἱερεὺς εὔχεται τὴν εὐχαριστίαν
Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῇ μεταλήψει τῶν ἁγίων ἀχράντων ἀθανάτων καὶ ἐπουρανίων σου μυστηρίων ὧν ἔδωκας ἡμῖν ἐπὶ εὐεργεσίᾳ καὶ ἁγιασμῷ καὶ σω-

τηρίᾳ τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν καὶ δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε φιλάνθρωπε ἀγαθὲ Κύριε χάρισαι ἡμῖν τὴν κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ εἰς πίστιν ἀκαταίσχυντον, εἰς ἀγάπην ανυπόκριτον, εἰς πλησμονὴν θεοσεβείας, εἰς ἀποτροπὴν παντὸς ἐναντίου, εἰς περιποίησιν τῶν ἐντολῶν σου, εἰς ἐφόδιον ζωῆς αἰωνίου, εἰς ἀπολογίαν εὐπρόσδεκτον τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ φοβεροῦ βήματος τοῦ χριστοῦ σου

ἐκφώνως

δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων

ὁ λαός

Ἀμήν.

⟨The Inclination⟩

εἶτα ὁ ἱερεὺς στρέφεται πρὸς τὸν λαὸν λέγων

Ἄναξ μέγιστε καὶ τῷ Πατρὶ συνάναρχε ὁ τῷ σῷ κράτει τὸν ᾅδην σκυλεύσας καὶ τὸν θάνατον πατήσας καὶ τὸν ἰσχυρὸν δεσμεύσας καὶ τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἐκ τάφου ἀναστήσας τῇ θεουργικῇ σου δυνάμει καὶ φωτιστικῇ αἴγλη τῆς σῆς ἀρρήτου θεότητος· αὐτὸς δέσποτα διὰ τῆς μεταλήψεως τοῦ ἀχράντου σου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου σου αἵματος ἐξαπόστειλον τὴν ἀόρατόν σου δεξιὰν τὴν πλήρη εὐλογιῶν καὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς εὐλόγησον οἰκτείρησον σθένωσον τῇ θεϊκῇ σου δυνάμει καί περίελε ἀφ' ἡμῶν τὴν κακοήθη καὶ ἁμαρτάδα σαρκικῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἐργασίαν, καταύγασον τοὺς νοητοὺς ἡμῶν ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς περικειμένης ζοφερᾶς ἀνομίας, σύναψον ἡμᾶς τῷ παμμακαρίστῳ τῶν εὐαρεστησάντων σοι συλλόγῳ· ὅτι διὰ σοῦ καὶ σὺν σοὶ τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ Πνεύματι πᾶς ὕμνος πρέπει τιμὴ κράτος προσκύνησίς τε καὶ εὐχαριστία νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

⟨The Dismissal⟩

Ὁ διάκονος

Πορεύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ

ὁ λαός

Ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου

ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐκφώνως

Ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρός, ἡ χάρις τοῦ Υἱοῦ κυρίου δὲ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἡ κοινωνία καὶ ἡ δωρεὰ τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος εἴη μετὰ πάντων ἡμῶν νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων

ὁ λαός

Ἀμήν.

Εἴη τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου εὐλογημένον.

II. THE DEVELOPMENT AND PRESENT FORM OF THE ETHIOPIC LITURGY

LECTURE IV

THE PRESENT ETHIOPIC LITURGY TO THE END OF THE MISSA CATECHUMENORUM

THE CHURCH in Abyssinia, as already stated, was founded about 340 A. D., and we have assumed that since its first bishop received his consecration from Alexandria he took with him to his diocese that form of the liturgy, even if only existing orally, which was in use in the patriarchial Church of Alexandria. This assumption, as we shall see, passes into the realm of demonstrated fact when we compare the developed form of the Ethiopic liturgy with the oldest form of St. Mark. Frumentius undoubtedly said the Eucharistic service in Greek, as did the patriarch of Alexandria, for many years after 340. Meanwhile St. Mark gradually assumed a stereotyped form, and became crystallized about the beginning of the fifth century. As the Church in Abyssinia was in close touch with the mother Church of Alexandria, we may be sure that by the latter period the developed liturgy of Alexandria was used in the Ethiopic Church, and that it remained the standard liturgical form in Greek till c. 480 A. D. When the Abyssinian Church, following the mother Church of Alexandria, became Monophysite, it undoubtedly translated its liturgy into the vernacular,[1] just as the Monophysite Church of Alexandria translated the same liturgy into Coptic, the language of its people. Therefore, the liturgy of the Ethiopic Church in Abyssinia, from the beginning of the sixth century on, existed and was said in the Ethiopic language; and from that time forward the liturgy in Alexandria and in Abyssinia, the same to start with, began to grow further and further apart in details, though not in general outline.[2] St. Mark in Greek, which continued to be used by the Melchite or Orthodox Church in Alexandria, remained the same as the old St. Mark with a few exceptions, which were mostly additions due to Constantinopolitan influence. In its present oldest manuscript (that of the twelfth century), it represents practically the sixth century, and has been with comparative certainty reduced to its fifth century form.

The Ethiopic liturgy of the fifth century, as we have already seen, was really Greek St. Mark in its fifth century form. Beginning with the sixth century, and the translation of the liturgy into Ethiopic, changes began to be made. Although the oldest form of the Ethiopic liturgy extant is a printed text of 1548, the original manuscript of which is not known to exist, we are safe in saying that there was a steady development in its form till the sixteenth century, which continued, though not to so great an extent, till the twentieth century. Influence was exerted from different directions. Documents such as the *Ethiopic Church Order* and the *Testament of Our Lord,* with their liturgical forms, influenced the Ethiopic liturgy in a way not evident in St. Mark;[3] and the influence of the early Coptic liturgies was also felt. But the Ethiopic liturgy is unique in some of its developments, it alone having transmitted the prayers used with the preparatory acts in the Prothesis. Exactly when these prayers were introduced cannot be stated, on account of the scarcity of information about the Ethiopic Church till the end of the thirteenth century. From the sixth to the thirteenth centuries, we are forced to depend upon a few kings' lists and miscellaneous notes for our knowledge of the Ethiopic Church, and till investigations are made among the manuscripts now in Abyssinian Churches and monasteries we shall remain in comparative ignorance of this period. A few manuscripts of various contents, however, are known, and when translated will throw some light on liturgical developments in Abyssinia. Such are the *Ethiopic Testament of Our Lord* (though not Ethiopic in origin) in *Br. Mus. Or.* 793, 795, of the eighteenth century;

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[1] Whether the translation was made directly from the Greek or indirectly from the Coptic, it is impossible to say with certainty, though the former is more probable.

[2] The multiplication of differences between the Ethiopic liturgy of the fifth and that of the following centuries was due to the isolation of the Ethiopic Church from the rest of Christendom, to lack of communication between different centres of Church life in Abyssinia itself, and to the fact that the liturgy was never printed.

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[3] Srawley, *op. cit.*, pp. 79ff.

the *Sīnōdōs* which contains some liturgical prayers and is found in *Br. Mus. Or.* 793, 795, 796, all of the eighteenth century; a priest's ceremonial in *Br. Mus. Or.* 549, 550, 788, 799, of the eighteenth century, and *Add.* 16205; a tract on the duties of a priest in *Br. Mus. Or.* 829, belonging to the eighteenth century; and the Law of Kings (*Fattah Nagasht*), *Frankf. Ms. O. Rüpp.* III, 2.

The Ethiopic liturgy, called the *Ḳeddāsē,* is contained in the following manuscripts:[4]

Br. Mus. Or. 545	XVII Century.
Berlin Diez A, duodez 11	
Paris Éth. 69	
Coll. d'Abbadie Ms. Eth. 13, 72	
J. Rylands Ms. Eth. 8	
Br. Mus. Or. 546, 547	XVIII Century.
Berlin Pet. II Nachtr. 36	
Paris Éth. 61, 68	
Br. Mus. Or. 548	XIX Century.
Berlin Or. quart. 414	
Mercer Ms. Eth. 3.	XX Century.

These manuscripts contain complete services, e. g. the *Ordo Communis* with not only the normal Anaphora of the Apostles but also others. The following manuscripts contain Anaphoras but no *Ordo Communis:*

Br. & Fr. Bib. Soc. Eth. G, a partial Anaphora of the fifteenth century.
Paris Éth. 77: 5. XVI Century
Paris Éth. 70, 116. XVII Century.

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[4] All these manuscripts, with the exception of those in Paris, I examined during the summer of 1914. There are undoubtedly other manuscripts whose whereabouts are not at present known to Western scholars.

Br. Mus. Add. 16202 *Paris Éth.* 54, 60	XVIII Century.
Br. Mus. Or. 80 *Paris Éth.* 132	XIX Century.

It will thus be seen that the oldest manuscript containing a complete liturgy does not precede the seventeenth century, and the oldest fragment apparently represents the fifteenth century. The following liturgical manuscripts are of uncertain date:

a. Those which contain an *Ordo Communis with Anaphoras:*
  - *Vatican* 15, 16, 34, 39.
  - *Oxf. Ms. Aeth.* e, I; f. I.
  - *Frankfurt Ms. Or. Rüpp.* III, 3.
  - *Paris*[5] *Éth.* 67, 72 (and 74, which is a duplicate of 72).
  - *Miss. Cattolica di Cheren, Ms. Etiop.* 15, 16.

b. Those which contain one or more Anaphoras, but no *Ordo Communis.*
  - *Berlin, König. Bibl., Or. Oct.* 917, 989, 990, 991, 1001, 1002.[6]
  - *Vat.* XIII.
  - *Rome, Bib. Angelica* has one with an Anaphora.
  - *Oxf. Bod. Ms. Pocock* 6.
  - *Paris Éth.* 136 (a copy of *Pocock* 6).
  - *Coll. Duchesne-Fournet*[7] (Bibl. et Musées de Paris, des départements, et de collections privées) No. 2.
  - *Miss. Cattolica di Cheren Ms. Etiop.* 17.

c. Those which contain some Eucharistic prayers.
  - *Vat.* 22, 28, 29, 66, 69.
  - *Oxf. Bod. Ms. Aeth.* f, VIII; g, I.

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[5] Paris 76 is a copy made in London in 1660 by Vansleb from a manuscript at Oxford.

[6] See also Flemming, *Neue Sammlung Abess. Handschriften,* Berlin, 1906.

[7] This catalogue is not yet completed.

Camb. Univ. Lib. Ms. Eth. Add. 3682.
Upsala Bib. Ms. Eth. 8.
Petrograd Bib. impér. Ms. Or. DCXII.
Miss. Cattolica di Cheren 29.

PUBLISHED TEXTS:

a. The *Ordo Communis* with the Anaphora of the Apostles
Tasfa Sion (Petrus Ethyops) *Testamentum Novum,* Rome 1548-49. The book is catalogued as *Vat.* 6. The liturgy is placed between the Acts and Romans, and was made for the Uniates. It is Monophysite except that names of Monophysites are omitted. The *Filioque* is added to the Creed, and other changes are made, e. g. the mutilation of the Invocation.

b. Pro-anaphora.
Swainson, *The Greek Liturgies—with an appendix containing the Coptic ordinary Canon of the Mass—edited and translated by Dr. C. Bezold,* Cambridge, 1884. This is in reality the Ethiopic *Ordo Communis* printed from *Br. Mus. Or.* 545.

c. Anaphoras.

1. Anaphora of the Apostles in Tasfa Sion as above.
2. Anaphora of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Tasfa Sion pp. 168ff. Derived from the *Testament of Our Lord* though much expanded.
   Also in Ludolfus *ad suam hist. aethiop. Commentarius,* Francf. ad M. 1691, pp. 341-345; *Bullarium patr. Portug.* pp. 221-224.
3. Our Lady Mary. Tasfa Sion, pp. 170ff; *Bullarium* pp. 225-233.
4. St. Dioscorus. In Ludolfus (by Vansleb) *Lexicon aethiopicum,* London, 1661, appendix (from *Oxf. Bod. Poc.* 6); *Bullarium,* pp. 260-262.
5. St. John Chrysostom. Dillmann, *Chrestomathia aethiopica,* Lips 1866 & 1914, pp. 51-56 (from *Oxf. Bod. Poc.* 6).
6. The Words of Institution and Invocation of the following Anaphoras were published in *Bessa-*

rione, Fasc. 110 (1910), pp. 186-209, by P. Marius Chaîne (*La consécration et l'épiclèse dans le Missel éthiopien*) from various manuscripts: The Apostles, St. John the Evangelist, St. Basil, St. Athanasius, BVM, St. Gregory the Armenian, St. Dioscorus, St. John Chrysostom, St. Cyril, St. Gregory of Alexandria, 318 Nicean Fathers, St. Ephraim, OLJC, and St. James of Serug.

TRANSLATIONS:

a. The *Ordo Communis* with the Anaphora of the Apostles.
  Tasfa Sion, *Testamentum Novum*, reproduced in other later works, see Brightman, *LEW*, lxxiii.
  Rodwell, *Ethiopic Liturgies and Prayers*, London, 1864.
  Brightman, *LEW*.

b. *Ordo Communis* alone.
  Swainson, *op. cit.*

c. Anaphoras alone.
  1. An. of OLJC.
    Ludolfus, *op. cit.*
    Rodwell, *op. cit.*, from Tasfa Sion and Ludolfus.
  2. O. L. Mary
    Rodwell, *op. cit.*, from Tasfa Sion and *Br. Mus. Add.* 16202.
  3. St. Dioscorus
    Ludolfus, *Lexicon Aeth.*, London, 1661, by Vansleb, from *Bodl. Poc.* 6. Reproduced elsewhere, see Brightman, *op. cit.*, lxxiii.
    Rodwell, *op. cit.* (in part), from *Br. Mus. Add.* 16202.
  4. St. John Chrysostom
    Schulte, in *Der Katholik*, 1888 (Hft. 1), 417-425.
  5. St. Athanasius (only the (Canon)
    Turaeff in 'Εκκλησιαστικὸς φάρος, V, 321.
  6. Words of Institution and Invocation of fourteen Anaphoras in *Bessarione*, *op. cit.*

The oldest complete Abyssinian service in Ethiopic which we possess is that published by Tasfa Sion, while the oldest in manuscript form does not precede the seventeenth century. Although the Copts of Egypt and the Abyssinian Uniates possess printed books, the Ethiopic Church as yet has no printed form of the liturgy. In Abyssinia not only the liturgy but also the lectionary exists in manuscript form.

The latest and best translation of the Ethiopic liturgy is to be found in Brightman, *LEW,* pp. 194-244, made from five manuscripts in the British Museum, together with some other additions (see Brightman, p. 112). The basic manuscript is *Br. Mus. Ms. Or.* 545 of the seventeenth century, while the latest manuscript used belongs to the nineteenth century. It is obvious, then, that the liturgy as translated in Brightman is not the one in use at present in Abyssinia.

The following discussion of the liturgy is based upon the appended translation of a manuscript containing the service as it is used today in Abyssinia. Following the translation there is a photographic facsimile of the manuscript.

In the Ethiopic liturgy the Pro-anaphora is the same for all occasions and is a version of Greek St. Mark, but in a very developed form. There are as many as fourteen Anaphoras ascribed to various saints, but only one is normally used, the alternate ones being only for rare occasions. The normal Anaphora is that of the Twelve Apostles, which is fundamentally identical with the Coptic liturgy of St. Cyril, although much more developed. The majority of these Anaphoras are comparatively late, apparently coming after the tenth century.[8]

In the following discussion of the development of the Ethiopic liturgy since the beginning of the sixth century, the *rationale* of Hammond is used for the background, and as we ended with St. Mark's as the Ethiopic liturgy of the fifth century we shall here commence with it chronologically. We shall, however, begin the discussion of each step with the service contained in *Mercer* 3. The chief texts and manuscripts used in our comparison, in addition to St. Mark as reconstructed above, will be the following: *Br. & For. Bib. Soc. Eth. G.* for the fifteenth century; *Br. Mus. Ms. Or.* 545 for the seventeenth century; *Br. Mus. Ms. Or.* 546 and *Berlin* 36 for the eighteenth century; and *Br. Mus.* 548 and *Berlin* 414 for the nineteenth century. These manuscripts representing the different centuries are the most complete known to exist, and were all copied by me during the summer of 1914.[9] Finally, my own manuscript (*Mercer Ms. Eth.* 3) represents the present use of the Abyssinian Church. It is complete in every detail, containing not only the Pro-anaphora and the normal Anaphora, but also the thirteen other Anaphoras, besides various prayers and intercessions.

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[8] Schermann, *Aegyptische Abendmahlslit. des ersten Jahrhunderts,* p. 184.

[9] For comparative purposes, use will be made of the liturgy of Coptic Cyril, as found in Brightman *LEW,* pp. 144ff; Coptic Basil in Assemani, *Codex liturgicus,* Vol. VII; and other less closely related liturgical forms.

For lack of space, similarities in the manuscripts used will not always be noted, but an attempt will be made to record all differences of any importance.

Primitive liturgies are best represented by the simple beginning of Greek St. Mark, although *Sarapion* and chapter 26 of the *Testament of Our Lord* and the ordering of the Church, *A. C. II,* show a predilection for prayers and ceremonies before the Lections; and this paved the way for the later developed form of the Egyptian preparatory service. From the sixth century onward the preparatory service developed, but we are unable to follow it step by step, from lack of literary material, until we come to the liturgy of Tasfa Sion in the sixteenth century. Although this liturgy[10] was not printed till 1549, we can safely assume a very much earlier date for the manuscript or manuscripts which were used. From the sixteenth century to the present time we have, as seen above, material representing each century. The present service (*Mercer* 3) begins with the ascription, "In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost one God." In the same way begin Tasfa Sion; *Br. Mus.* 545, 546, 548; and *Berlin* 36 and 414 This ascription precedes the preparation of the ministers, and among Oriental liturgies only that of St.

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[10] The printed text of 1548-9, called *Vat. Aethiop.* 6 is full of errors, e. g. in the prayer over the disk more than thirty errors are to be noted, showing that it was either made from a very imperfect text or that the work was carelessly done. Compare Rodwell's translation of this edition of 1548, in which he used *Br. Mus. Ms. Or.* 16202 (XVIII cent.).

James (Syriac)[11] has a similar beginning. There we have "Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost; and upon us weak and sinful be mercy and grace at all times"; this being followed by a short *prayer of the beginning.* Western liturgies have no such introduction. They begin with the procession (Roman) or the entrance (Gallican). This, with all that follows up to the Enarxis, was added to the Ethiopic liturgy after the end of the fifth century, as it does not appear in Greek St. Mark, which, in its extant form, begins with the Enarxis.

The present Ethiopic liturgy[12] has the title *The order of the Ḳeddāsē;*[13] *which is to be said by the presbyter and the deacon and the people; together with everything that is proper at its time, according to the order of our fathers the Egyptians.* This title is found also in the three British Museum manuscripts and the two Berlin manuscripts, referred to above, but not in Tasfa Sion. The title then must have had its origin after the date of the manuscript or manuscripts used by Tasfa Sion, but before 1670-1675, the date of *Br. Mus. Ms.* 545. *Br. Mus.* 545 has in addition, before the ascription at the top of the page, *This is the order which Basil of Antioch compiled.*

A. The preparation of the ministers is begun by

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[11] When not otherwise qualified "St. James" means *Greek* St. James.

[12] Whenever this expression, or "present service," is used, not otherwise qualified, it refers to *Mercer* 3.

[13] This is the Ethiopian word which corresponds to the English "liturgy."

the prayer of penitence, said by the presbyter on entering the church. The text of the prayer is not given in any of the manuscripts, unless it be the prayer which follows the psalms or antiphon. That is hardly possible, as the prayer following the psalms is rather a prayer for cleansing and purifying. The form prevails as far back as the seventeenth century, but is absent from Tasfa Sion. After the prayer of penitence the present service directs that a *psalm of David* be said, but does not indicate which psalm. *Br. Mus.* 545 prescribes psalms 25,[14] 61, 102, 103, 130 and 131, and this was customary down till the present century. Immediately after the ascription, Tasfa Sion has an antiphon composed of selections from various psalms, and headed by the title *The antiphon at the time of the Ḳeddāsē. Hallelujah.*

Following the psalm *Mercer* 3 has the rubric, *and then he shall say this prayer,* which is followed by a prayer for the cleansing through the Holy Ghost of all things in the Church. This prayer is the same in all the manuscripts and practically the same in Tasfa Sion, though the latter has a different rubric. It reads: *First of all the presbyter shall say the prayer for the purity of the church and of the tābōt.*[15] Here the present Ethiopic liturgy has a direction not found in this place in any other of the above manuscripts. It reads: *And then making the sign of the cross,* and is followed by an ascription in Greek, transliterated into Ethiopic. These Greek expressions scattered throughout the Egyptian liturgies show the language in which the parent rite was written. After that follows the *prayer before the withdrawing of the veil,* which is found in all the manuscripts, but not in Tasfa Sion. It is a penitential prayer, and an application for forgiveness and for the grace of the Holy Spirit, to appear before God who knoweth the very thought of man, and begs for remission of all the sins of the people whether done knowingly or in ignorance. The prayer ends with a doxology. Then follows *the prayer of Basil,* a prayer similar in content to the last one. All the British Museum manuscripts have the prayer and also *Berlin* 414, but in *Berlin* 36 and Tasfa Sion it does not occur. It is undoubt-

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[14] These numbers are given in accordance with the numbering of the Massoretic text; in Ethiopic they are given in accordance with that of the LXX.

[15] The word *tābōt* is best rendered by the English word "ark," and seems to be a box, very highly reverenced, which stands on the altar, but what it contains is not clear. See Fortescue, *Lesser Eastern Churches,* pp. 314-315; Dowling, *The Abyssinian Church*, 23-24. It is probably the tab-

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lith, though in the rubrics *tābōt* is used where the altar is meant. Abû Ṣâliḥ (thirteenth century) says, "The Abyssinians possess the Ark of the Covenant, in which are the two tables of stone, inscribed by the finger of God with the commandments which he ordained for the children of Israel. The Ark of the Covenant is placed upon the altar. . . . The liturgy is celebrated upon the Ark four times in the year, within the palace of the king" *Fol.* 106a (Evetts and Butler, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*). The word is used, in one place in the Prothesis of the present liturgy, in reference to the "ark" of Noah. For a photograph of a *tābōt,* see *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition,* Berlin, 1913, Bd. III, Tafel VIII.

edly an ancient prayer,[16] but may have been introduced into the liturgy at a late date. This suggestion would be in keeping with its similarity to the preceding prayer. The preparation of the ministers is likewise found in the liturgies of St. James (Syriac), St. Chrysostom, the Presanctified, and the Armenians.

The preparation of the instruments begins in the present liturgy with the *prayer over all the vessels of the church,* a short prayer found in all the British Museum and Berlin manuscripts but not in Tasfa Sion. The same is true of the *prayer over the Māchfadāt* ("veils")[17] which follows it.

Then the presbyter *shall go in and worship before the tābōt,* after which follows *the prayer of John* to the Lord God "who sitteth above the angels and the archangels, the lords and the dominions, the cherubim and the seraphim, who was before all creatures, who is exalted above all glory," beseeching him to make us partakers of his holy mysteries and to drive away from us all evil thoughts and lusts which fight against the soul. The same prayer is found in all the British Museum manuscripts and in *Berlin* 414, but not in *Berlin* 36 nor in Tasfa Sion. This is interesting, for it shows that while the prayer of John was used in the liturgy of the Ethiopic Church before the eighteenth century, as *Br. Mus.* 545 shows, there were good manuscripts such as *Berlin* 36 which omitted it. This may show that parts of the service were omitted by some of the copyists, because they felt that the priest could say such prayers from memory, and may account for the omission of the introductory psalms from *Mercer* 3. Many of the extant liturgical manuscripts were, it may be supposed, made for private use, often by a priest for his own use, and hence were often indifferently and irregularly copied. The method of making service books would thus seem to account for omissions and other differences. On the other hand *Berlin* 36 may represent a local use which regularly omitted this prayer. At this point in *Berlin* 36 comes the *prayer over the paten,* which occurs at a very much later point in the other manuscripts.

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[16] Compare Fell, *Canones apostolorum aethiopice,* Lips. 1871, 34, also Bruns, *Canones apostol. et concil.,* Berol. 1839, I, 2, 81.

[17] The veils or napkins with which the oblation is covered.

Before the Prothesis the present liturgy has the following rubric: *If there is a pope present, he* (*the presbyter*) *shall go to him with the vestments to be blessed and vested, but if there is no pope, he shall bless and vest himself. Br. Mus.* 545, 546 and 548 have in addition to this, *The celebrating priest shall rise up with reverence and shall bow first of all before the tābōt once and once to the presbyters and to the deacons once. And he shall come to the tābōt and take the vestment into his hands and say* "Our Father who art in heaven"; *then he shall bow thrice.* This is probably the more correct form, for the subject of the sentence "he shall go to him" in *Mercer* 3 is ambiguous, the rubric presupposing the information which is found in the fuller form in *Br. Mus.* 545, 546 and 548. This rubric in its full form is found in *Berlin* 414 and in 36. In *Berlin* 36 this comes after the prayer over the cross-spoon; or rather the prayer over the cross-spoon, like the *prayer over the paten,* is misplaced in *Berlin* 36, unless it was felt by the copyist that it ought to come nearer the prayers for the preparation of the instruments. There was undoubtedly some confusion or deliberate changing on the part of the copyist, since the prayer of John was omitted and these prayers were placed nearer the prayer over the vessels of the Church. Further, *Berlin* 36, in the rubric under consideration, omits the phrase *and if there is none he shall bless and vest himself.* In *Br. Mus.* 545 there is an alternative form of the rubric given in a smaller hand on the margin. It reads: *Again what is meet, that is what is necessary for the priest by the order of the Ḳeddāsē of the mysteries for the ministry of the holy tābōt. First he shall come unto the tābōt and take the vestment in his hand and turn his face towards the east and bow three times and say* Our Father who art in heaven. *And again he shall turn to the people to see whether there is a deacon to minister before he puts on the complete vestments: for if there is no deacon to minister and assist in the ministration it will be impossible for the priest to take off his vestments after vesting. And when he will vest, let the presbyter look whether the vestment is too long or too short: for after vesting it is not proper to unvest. And then he shall put on the Akmān and tie it with the Zenār. And he shall collect his thoughts and not let them turn aside unto the business of the world nor* *even go out of the door of the Sanctuary. And if there is an archpope or a bishop present he shall take the vestments in his hand and turn to him and bless them for him before he vests.* This rubric is not found in Tasfa Sion. It will be noted that no directions are given about individual vestments, except partially as in *Br. Mus.* 545 in the margin, nor are any accompanying prayers given. In the liturgies of St. Chrysostom, the Armenian, and Syriac St. James, prayers are given to be said at the putting on of each vestment.

In the present Ethiopic liturgy the Prothesis begins with the rubric, *and while he dresseth he shall say this prayer.* We learn from the British Museum manuscripts, that the word *tābōt* should be inserted in this rubric, reading, *and while he dresseth the tābōt,* since he is already vested. Tasfa Sion has the rubric, *a prayer before the tābōt is vested, and before the vessels are placed upon it.* The prayer which follows invokes the presence of the Lord to bless the celebrating priest and others, and to make the incense which is to be offered a sweet-smelling savour. The same prayer is found with very slight variations in the British Museum manuscripts, in *Berlin* 414 and 36, and in Tasfa Sion. It is found also in Coptic Cyril almost word for word.[18] Coptic Cyril and Basil begin with this prayer. Here the Byzantine liturgies are highly developed. According to a rubric found in Coptic Basil, the priest, while the above prayer is being said, uncovers the *masōb* ("pot"),[19] cleans the chalice, and puts the pot and chalice in their proper places. This again is a place where all the Ethiopic liturgies undoubtedly took the priest's knowledge of certain ritual acts for granted. Then in *Mercer* 3 follows a prayer after the preparation of the altar. The same is also found in the British Museum manuscripts and *Berlin* 414 and 36, but not in Tasfa Sion. It is also found in Coptic Cyril and Basil, and a very similar prayer is found in St. Gregory (Greek).

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[18] Coptic Cyril agrees with *Mercer* 3 and *Br. Mus.* 548 in having "my mouth" in the phrase "to draw nigh to open my mouth before thine holy glory," as against *Br. Mus.* 545 and 546.

In the present service there follows here a series of rubrics and prayers not found in any of the other manuscripts. This constitutes one of the chief differences between the present form of the Ethiopic liturgy and any of its previous forms, and illustrates the change which has been going on continually since the end of the fifth century. First a long prayer is addressed to those present who intend to communicate, at the end of which there is a reference to the Institution; then follows a long rubric, similar to that written in a small hand on the margin of *Br. Mus.* 545, which contains directions about the vesting of the priest, and which has a reference to the saying of the Lord's Prayer; then comes the "prayer after the withdrawal of the veil," as in the British Museum manuscripts; and finally the rubric: *Then he shall go around with the eucharistic host* introduces the prayer beginning "Remember those who bring near to thee this oblation," which is not found in any of the other manuscripts.

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[19] *Masōb* does not mean "paten." It is the same word as that used in Heb. 9: 4 (Ethiopic) of the pot in which the manna was preserved. It probably corresponds to the ciborium, or the "arcula, in qua ponitur hostia pro sacrificio."

The present Ethiopic liturgy then has the rubric *After the priest is vested thus the people shall say in unison*

Hallelujah,

also the following rubric: *If there be any one of the faithful who hath entered the church at the time of the Ḳeddāsē, and hath not heard the holy scriptures, and hath not waited until they have finished the prayer of the Ḳeddāsē, and hath not received the host, let him be excommunicated from the Church; for he hath violated the law of the Lord and hath disdained to stand before the heavenly king, the king of flesh and spirit. This the apostles have taught in their canon.* These rubrics are found in all the British Museum manuscripts and in *Berlin* 414 and 36, but not in Tasfa Sion.

Then follows in *Mercer* 3 a *prayer over the masōb,* to sanctify it and prepare it for the reception of Christ's body. This prayer is found in all the manuscripts, and in Tasfa Sion, but out of its regular place, coming immediately after the *prayer over the cross-spoon.* The people respond, "thou art the *masōb,* of pure gold wherein is hidden the manna, the bread which cometh down from heaven." This is not in Tasfa Sion. The priest, then, making the sign over the bread, shall say: "Εὐλόγιος (sic!) Ἰησοῦς Χριστός Son of the living God, ἁγίασμα τῶν πνευμάτων ἅγιος in truth. Amen." These Greek phrases transliterated into Ethiopic witness to the language used in the Ethiopic liturgy in early days. The above prayer is found in all the manuscripts, but in Tasfa Sion we have: *Then shall he say as he makes the sign of the cross:* "May the strength and blessing and light and sanctification of the Holy Trinity be on the Church of the city N." Then follows in *Mercer* 3 a long rubric, *and then he shall take the host in his pure hands while it is moist, and he shall dry one alone; he shall rub the bread with his hand; while he says its blessing, he shall put it in the masōb; he shall pour the oblation while he says* a short supplication, after which follows a short blessing of the bread, with its rubric. In *Br. Mus.* 545 and 546 the rubric reads: *and then he shall take the host with his pure hand while it is wet, and shall rub it over and under saying.*[20] In. *Br. Mus.* 548 it reads: *and then he shall take the host and with his wet hand he shall rub the bread over and under and he shall sign over it a second time. Berlin* 414 and 36 agree with *Br. Mus.* 545, while Tasfa Sion omits it. Then follows a short prayer found in all the manuscripts, invoking God's blessing on the bread for the remission of sins. Then follows the rubric: *and then the*

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[20] There is an erasure here in *Br. Mus.* 545, *Br. Mus.* 546 supplying the text.

assistant shall receive it into the māchfad[21] ("tower"), *saying.* This rubric is found in all the manuscripts except *Berlin* 36, which also omits the following short prayer about the wrapping of the body of Christ by Joseph and Nicodemus in linen clothes. This prayer in the present liturgy is somewhat different from the earlier form, reading, "Like as Joseph and Nicodemus wrapped thee in linen clothing and thou wast well pleased in them, in like manner be well pleased in us." *And then the priest shall take it and say this prayer.* The prayer varies in the different manuscripts. *Mercer* 3 reads: "The hallowing is accepted, the thanksgiving and magnifying for the remission of sins from the Lord, the Father. Amen. Power and blessing and sanctification and holy be, in this day, the holy apostolic Church. Amen." *Br. Mus.* 545 and 546 read: "The hallowing and the thanksgiving and the exaltation, accepted be it of God the Father, for the remission of sin. Power and blessing and light, hallowing and holiness be in this holy apostolic Church. Amen." And 548 reads: "The hallowing and the thanksgiving—Power and light, greatness and blessing and the hallowing of the holy be on this Church." *And he shall say furthermore,* "this hallowing be accepted, the thanksgiving and the exaltation for the remission of sin on the part of God the Father. Amen: so be it, so be it."

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[21] Here "tower" rather than "veil." As Brightman says, *LEW*, 581, the word is evidently a transliteration of the Arabic, *miḥfazah*, "that in which a thing is kept," which was assimilated to the similarly sounding Ethiopic word meaning "a tower."

In the present Ethiopic liturgy the next rubric reads: *and the priest shall turn once towards the tābōt, the taper in front of him, and shall say.* In the British Museum manuscripts it reads: *and the priest shall compass the tābōt with the taper in front of him and the deacon shall compass it thrice holding the chalice. The priest shall say.* The Berlin manuscripts agree with the latter. The prayer which follows, asking the Lord God to accept the oblation, is practically the same in all the manuscripts except that the name of the priest celebrating is inserted, a blank being left in *Berlin* 414. In Tasfa Sion this prayer follows just after the prayer over the cross-spoon, and is introduced by the rubric, *prayer at the offering.* The name of the celebrating priest here is, "Tasfa Sion and Tanase his son."

The present liturgy has the rubric, *and the deacon shall say three times while he takes the chalice,* while the British Museum manuscripts have the short form, *and the deacon shall say. Berlin* 414 has, *and the deacon shall compass it thrice and shall say. Berlin* 36 omits the rubric. After the deacon's exclamation, "The Lord seeth me," the present rubric runs: *And then the priest shall set the host on the paten and the deacon shall pour the blood into the chalice. The priest shall say this prayer after he hath set the host on the paten.* The same rubric is found in the other manuscripts. Then follows the *prayer over the paten*, which is found in all the manuscripts, only out of place in *Berlin* 36. It is also in Tasfa Sion, but in an abbreviated form.

After the prayer over the paten, there is in Tasfa Sion a short exclamation not found in any of the manuscripts. It is, "Jesus Christ is the Son of God. Holy is his name; and holy is he among the spirits." This is followed by the *prayer over the chalice,* which with a few variations is the same as that in the manuscripts. In most of the manuscripts (e. g. the British Museum manuscripts and *Berlin* 414) there follows a second prayer over the chalice, in which the marriage feast at Cana of Galilee is mentioned. In the present Ethiopic liturgy this second prayer follows the *prayer over the cross-spoon,* the latter immediately following the first prayer over the chalice. This order agrees exactly with that of *Berlin* 36 and also with that of Tasfa Sion, although the latter does not have here the second prayer over the chalice, but only a short exclamation, which in the manuscripts comes at the end of the second prayer over the chalice, but in Tasfa Sion is placed at the conclusion of the first prayer over the chalice. It reads: "purity and blessing and sweetness are to those who drink of thy precious blood, who art the very true one." The second prayer over the chalice in Tasfa Sion or, as it is called there, the *prayer at the mixture of the water with wine,* is out of place, coming immediately after the *prayer of offering.*

The prayer over the cross-spoon in the present service now follows in the order just indicated. The prayer is practically identical in all the manuscripts and in Tasfa Sion, except that a different name is sometimes substituted for "thy servant Isaiah who was made meet to behold the seraph." In *Mercer* 3 *Walda George,* the owner or writer of the manuscript, is mentioned. The second prayer over the chalice then follows in the present service, and it is found in all the manuscripts and in Tasfa Sion. The prayer is the same in all except that in *Mercer* 3 and in *Berlin* 36 there is a rubric before the final exclamation, which reads: *and then he* (*the priest,* in *Berlin* 36) *shall say,* "Purity and sweetness and blessing be to those who drink of thy blood precious ἀληθινόν in truth. Amen." This final exclamation, as noted above, is found at the end of the first prayer over the chalice in Tasfa Sion.

The present Ethiopic service, as well as those of the other manuscripts, but not of Tasfa Sion, has a series of rubrics, salutations and responses. There are some slight variations in the different services. *Mercer* 3 agrees with *Br. Mus.* 547, as against the other manuscripts, in reading the first salutation as follows: "Blessed be the Lord the Father Almighty"; and in reading the second salutation as follows: "And blessed be the only Son, our Lord, Jesus Christ, who was made man of the holy Virgin Mary for our salvation." The present Ethiopic service omits the third salutation with its response, but continues the same as the other manuscripts to the end of the ascription to the "co-equal Trinity." At this point in the present service there are two short supplications with their rubrics, not found in the other manuscripts.

The present service then continues, in harmony with all the other manuscripts, with the rubric: *He shall turn to the assistant touching his hands when he speaketh the word saying:* "Remember me, O my father presbyter." Here *Berlin* 36 has an addition which reads: "Hallelujah. Joseph and Nicodemus wrapped Jesus in linen clothing and spices, who rose from the dead in a marvellous manner," and this comes in the present liturgy just before the *prayer over the masōb. Mercer* 3 then continues with the rubric and response, which are common to all the manuscripts, *He also shall answer him,* "The Lord keep thy priesthood and accept thine oblation." It proceeds with the rubric: *Then the priest shall stand upright with his face to the east, stretching forth his hands while he shall say with a loud voice:* "One is the holy Father, one is the holy Son, one is the Holy Ghost." The rubric is very short in *Berlin* 36 where it reads: *and then the priest shall say with a loud voice.* The present service continues in the same way as the other manuscripts except that the response, "Truly the Father is holy, truly the Son is holy, truly the Holy Ghost is holy," takes the place of the short form "The Holy Ghost," which looks like an abbreviation. The present service likewise omits the final rubric before the Enarxis, namely, *and the people also shall say in like manner,* which *Berlin* 36 also omits.

Instead of the above series of rubrics, salutations, and responses, Tasfa Sion has but one rubric, *the priest shall say,* with the ascription, "There is one holy Father, one holy Son, one Holy Ghost. Praise the Lord all ye nations, and laud him all ye people. For stablished is his mercy upon us, and the righteousness of the Lord endureth for ever. Glory be to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, now and ever, and world without end. Amen."

The Coptic liturgies of Cyril and Basil, in like manner with the Ethiopic liturgies, give full directions for the preparation of the oblations. After the prayer for the preparation of the altar, referred to above, the priest takes the host and prepares it for consecration, each act being accompanied by appropriate prayers. Similar ritual acts and prayers accompany the preparation of the wine. Whether the offering be for the dead or living, the name of the person or persons is given, accompanied by appropriate prayers, and then follows a procession of the elements headed by deacons with lighted torches, while an ascription is said. After the procession the ministers take their places before the altar, and salutations and responses follow, similar to those in the Ethiopic service, and in addition, portions of psalms are said or sung,[22] while the oblations are being further prepared. Then follows the Enarxis.

The preparation of the altar is likewise very full in Syriac St. James and in the Byzantine liturgies. The corresponding portion in Greek St. Mark is considered a later addition due to Constantinopolitan influence.

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[22] This corresponds with the Introit in Western services and is to be found in the Ordo Romanus I of the VIII cent. (Atchley, *Ordo Romanus Primus, London,* 1905) but was introduced, it is said, in the time of Pope Celestine (423-432).

We now come to a discussion of the Enarxis, or beginning. The introductory salutations in the present service go back in their present form to the time of the manuscript or manuscripts used by Tasfa Sion, that is, to the early part of the sixteenth century at the latest. The Kyries in the Western liturgies are paralleled by the "Lord have mercy upon us" in the Ethiopic Liturgy. Greek St. Mark has similar introductions and salutations, as also Coptic Cyril and Basil. The history of the Kyrie is interesting, and has been summed up by Mr. Bishop[23] as follows: "Kyrie eleison was a pre-Christian religious invocation. It found its way into public Christian services soon after the triumph of the Church, that is, in the course of the fourth century. It was at first probably a prayer of popular devotion, and popular from its very simplicity. A passage in the *Peregrinatio Silviae* seems to be a record of the way in which the invocation was used before it was regularized in the liturgy. This took place, as we should naturally expect, in Greek speaking regions. Thence it spread to the West, through Italy; its introduction into Italy falling in the fifth century at the earliest; probably in the second half rather than the first. It was imported into Gaul, probably by way of Arles, from Old Rome (and Italy); partly from Constantinople direct, perhaps as early as the close of the fifth century. But there seem to be substantial reasons for doubting that it was general in Gaul previous to the seventh century. As in the case of most ritual novelties, its spread was probably gradual."

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[23] *Ordo Romanus Primus*, 70.

Here the priest says the prayer of Thanksgiving which is found in all the manuscripts, as well as in Tasfa Sion and in St. Mark (Gk), and also in Coptic Cyril and Basil; but in the present Ethiopic service the deacon breaks into the middle of the prayer with the word "pray." The same direction is found in the manuscripts, but we are not told who gives it. In *Mercer* 3 the rubric tells us that the priest then continues the prayer. Then in the present service there follows a prayer by the deacon, as in Coptic Cyril and Basil, and in the other manuscripts. Then the priest says a prayer which is preceded in the present service alone by the rubric, *the deacon shall say Kyrie eleison.* In Tasfa Sion a similar rubric comes in the same place. It reads *the people shall say thrice Kyrie eleison.* In this prayer directions for genuflections are given. This whole series of prayers and rubrics corresponds with one long prayer in Greek in St. Mark introduced by the formula, *the priest offers up the prayer of entrance and for incense.* The same prayer is found in Coptic Cyril and Basil.

Then the deacon shall say, stand up for prayer. This direction is found in all the manuscripts, but not in Tasfa Sion. In St. Mark at the end of the long prayer of entrance the people answer: "Amen." Then the deacon says: "Stand." The present liturgy then proceeds with the following rubrics, salutations, and responses: *The people shall say,* "Lord have mercy upon us"; *the priest shall say,* "Peace be unto you all"; *The people shall say,* "With thy spirit"; *the assistant priest shall say the prayer of oblation.* In the British Museum manuscripts we have only: *The deacon shall say, stand up for prayer; the assistant priest shall say,* "Peace be unto you all." In *Berlin* 414 and 36 we have the same as in the present service. These rubrics, salutations, and responses are omitted in Tasfa Sion, which has only the following rubric: *the prayer on behalf of those who bring oblations.* St. Mark shows the original form. It reads *the Gospel is carried in and the Deacon says,* "Let us pray"; *the priest,* "Peace be to all"; *the people,* "And to thy spirit"; *the deacon,* "Let us pray"; *the people,* "Lord have mercy." Reasons have been given in Lecture III for considering two of these rubrics later additions, later, at any rate, than the fifth century. They are: *They sing the only-begotten Son and Word* and *The priest says the prayer of the Trisagion.* The prayer which follows is really a prayer of oblation, corresponding with the prayer following in the Ethiopic liturgy, but interpolated. The expression in the first rubric about the carrying in of the Gospel may be comparatively late, but nothing can be said about it with certainty. The prayer of oblation which follows is common to all the manuscripts as well as to Tasfa Sion.

Then *the deacon shall say,* "Pray for those who bring an offering." This is the same in all the manuscripts, but in Tasfa Sion it is the sub-deacon who gives the direction. In Greek St. Mark there seems to be nothing which corresponds to this. The present Ethiopic service goes directly to the prayer, "accept the offering" etc., while *Br. Mus. Mss.* 545 and 546 have a rubric preceding the prayer. It is, *the people shall say,* or, as in *Br. Mus.* 548, *the priest shall say.* The Berlin manuscripts have the same rubric and prayer as *Br. Mus.* 545, but it is not found in Tasfa Sion and Greek St. Mark.

The present service then goes on to the prayer, "Lord our God, who art Almighty" with its rubric, *The priest shall say.* Before this prayer and its rubric *Br. Mus.* 545 and 546 have the following: *the deacon shall say,* "The commandment of our fathers the Apostles: Let none keep in his heart rancor or revenge or envy or hatred towards his neighbor. Worship the Lord in fear," *the people shall say,* "Before thee, Lord, we worship, and thee we glorify." *Br. Mus.* 548 agrees with *Mercer* 3 and *Berlin* 414 and 36 in omitting this, nor is it present in Tasfa Sion. nor in Greek St. Mark. The prayer "Lord our God who art Almighty" is found in all the manuscripts and in Tasfa Sion.

Before the prayer of the Anaphora, the present Ethiopic liturgy has a series of salutations by the priest, deacon, and people. This is absent from all the British Museum manuscripts and from *Berlin* 414 but is word for word the same as *Berlin* 36. It is absent from Tasfa Sion and Greek St. Mark. The prayer of the Anaphora, containing ritual directions, is the same in all the manuscripts and in Tasfa Sion, though absent from St. Mark. It occurs in Coptic Cyril and Basil.

After the prayer of the Anaphora, the present liturgy, as well as that represented by *Berlin* 414 and 36, has several additional prayers with their accompanying rubrics. Among them are: "the commandment of our fathers the Apostles," which comes somewhat earlier in the British Museum manuscripts; and a supplication with reference to the deeds of Joseph and Nicodemus. Tasfa Sion has a similar section, although much shorter, which reads, *The deacon shall say,* "Worship God with fear"; *and the people shall answer,* "Before thee, O Lord, we adore and thee we glorify."

Mercer 3 continues with the rubric: *And the priest shall cover the bread with a covering and shall turn around at the tābōt and the deacon shall bow to the presbyter and they both shall bow together.* Immediately following this rubric the present liturgy has another, which reads: *and the presbyter who assisteth shall say this absolution of the Son.* Between these two rubrics the British Museum manuscripts have a prayer of St. Basil together with its rubric. This prayer in the present liturgy comes at the end of the *Missa Catechumenorum,* which is its most appropriate place. Its position in *Berlin* 36 agrees with *Mercer* 3; but it is omitted entirely from Tasfa Sion, as well as from Coptic Cyril and Basil. The present Ethiopic liturgy then has the prayer of the absolution of the Son, a long prayer for absolution with rubrical directions, The present *Abūna* is mentioned *i.e.*

Matthew. The same prayer is found in all the manuscripts, merely with variations in names, although in Tasfa Sion it is somewhat expanded. It is also found in Coptic Cyril and Basil.

Here the present service has a short prayer with its rubric, which is not found in any of the other manuscripts nor in Tasfa Sion. It is an exhortation to the faithful to resist the influence of those unbelievers who pride themselves on their "secret wisdom."

Then comes the deacon's litany, at each pause of which the people are directed to say, "Amen, Kyrie eleison, Lord have mercy upon us." This litany is practically the same in all the manuscripts, except that the appropriate names are inserted in different places, king Menīlek being mentioned in the present service. The order of the petition also varies, and the present service has a few petitions less than those in the British Museum manuscripts. *Mercer* 3 has the rubric, *the deacon shall say,* after the sixth petition. It must have been inserted by mistake as there is no need for it, and it does not occur in any of the other manuscripts. The litany is absent from Tasfa Sion and St. Mark, and from Coptic Cyril and Basil.

The Enarxis is also found in varying forms in Syriac and Greek St. James, in the Byzantine liturgies, and in the liturgy of Addai and Mari.

As shown in the previous lecture, the Enarxis, or all that portion of St. Mark which precedes the Little Entrance, was not a part of the service till after the end of the fifth century. The same is true, therefore, of the present Ethiopic service.

B. The censing rubric in the present liturgy reads: *and the priest shall take grains of incense in his right hand and the censer in his right hand and if there is a pope there he shall bring unto him the incense and the censer to bless them, and if there be no bishop present he shall bless them himself, making mention of the current year of grace, of the beginning of night and day, and the priest shall say.* The rubric is the same in all the manuscripts. In Tasfa Sion it is rather different, reading, *The priest shall say the prayer of incense. Here the presbyter waves the incense, making mention of the new moons and festival days, commemorating also the dead and the living, saying as he waves the incense.* The prayer which follows in *Mercer* 3 invokes the Trinity to accept the prayer and incense, and our lady Mary to present the prayer for forgiveness of sins. The prayer in the other manuscripts is quite different, and invokes the Lord our God who was pleased with the offerings of Abel, Enoch, Noah, Aaron, Samuel, and Zacharias to accept the incense.

In Tasfa Sion no corresponding prayer appears. According to the present Ethiopic use, while the incense is being cast, the priest says, "Blessed be the Lord the Almighty Father," and the people reply, "Amen."[24] Then the assistant says, "and blessed be the only Son Jesus Christ who was made man of Mary the holy Virgin for our salvation." *The people then say,* "Amen,"[25] and *the priest says,* "and blessed be the Holy Ghost the Paraclete who strengtheneth us all." *Then the people say,* "Amen."[25] Then *the priest says,*[25] "Glory and honour be to the Holy Trinity, the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, coequal both now and ever and world without end. Amen." This ascription is practically the same in the other manuscripts, with slight variations in the assignment of parts to the ministers and people, in this case the Berlin manuscripts supporting *Mercer* 3. In Tasfa Sion the parts are not assigned. The whole reads as two ascriptions, the latter being said while the priest censes the throne. The two parts read: "Blessed be the Father Almighty, and blessed be the only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, who was made man of the holy Virgin Mary; and blessed be the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, our God the strengthener. This sweet savour is due to the Holy Trinity, our God." Then follows the *prayer of incense,* which in the present rite has an introductory portion not found in the British Museum manuscripts. In these it reads, "O eternal God, the first and the last, who hath neither beginning nor end, who is great in his counsel and mighty in his work and righteous in his purpose and strong in his might, who is and is to be in all things; be with us in this house and stand in the midst of us all, and purify our hearts and sanctify our souls and our flesh, and wash us from all our sins which we have done wittingly or unwittingly; grant us to offer before thee a reasonable oblation and an oblation of blessing, which thou wilt make to enter in within the inner chamber of the veil, the holy of holies thy dwellingplace." It is the same in the Berlin manuscripts, except that 36 omits the title of the prayer. The Tasfa Sion prayer is almost identical with the latter, and so is the prayer in Coptic Cyril and Basil. It is thought by liturgical scholars[26] that the above ascription was originally a hymn sung at the μικρὰ εἴσοδος, or Little Entrance, and is represented in Greek St. Mark by "they sing the only-begotten Son and Word,"[27] introduced by Justinian, and is in full Ὁ μονογενὴς Υἱὸς καὶ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀθάνατος ὑπάρχων, καταδεξάμενος διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν σαρκωθῆναι ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας ἀτρέπτως ἐνανθρωπήσας; σταυρωθείς τε Χριστέ, ὁ θεὸς θανάτῳ θάνατον πατήσας; εἷς ὢν τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος συνδοξαζόμενος τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι σῶσον ἡμᾶς· This point marks the entrance in all liturgies, Western as well as Eastern.

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[24] "*The people shall say*" is not found in *Mercer* 3, but is in the British Museum manuscripts.

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[25] This is found only in *Mercer* 3.

Then he shall compass the tābōt three times saying, "We pray thee" etc. Then *the deacon shall say,* "pray for the peace of the Church, one, holy, apostolic, orthodox in the Lord." The other manuscripts have the same, but Tasfa Sion has merely, "remember, O Lord, the one, holy, Catholic and apostolic

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[26] E. g., Schermann *Der Katholik, op. cit.* 238.

[27] As noted above, this is a later addition to St. Mark.

Church which is from one end of the world unto the other," without any rubric. Coptic Cyril and Basil are very similar. The prayer for the Church is seen in St. Mark in the prayer before the Little Entrance, beginning "O Sovereign and Almighty God."

In the present rite there is a series of salutations absent from the other manuscripts, but represented in them by the rubric *the priest shall say.* Then follows the prayer for the ministers of the Church and for the people. All the British Museum manuscripts differ considerably from the present rite in this prayer, being considerably fuller (e. g. Brightman 210.36-211.16 is not represented in *Mercer* 3). The Berlin manuscripts agree with those of the British Museum, with slight variations in the ascriptions, which come in just before the prayer in Brightman beginning, "Remember, Lord, our congregation." The names of the bishops are, of course, different in the various manuscripts, *Abūna Matthew* being mentioned in the present rite. Tasfa Sion is much simplified and reads, "Remember, O Lord, our patriarch Abba N, and our holy and blessed bishop, Abba N, and all our patriarchs, bishops, presbyters, and deacons. Remember, O Lord, our king N. Remember, O Lord, our fathers and brethren who have fallen asleep, and do rest in the orthodox faith. Remember, O Lord, our congregations, and bless them evermore." A similar prayer is found in the Coptic liturgies, and of course in St. Mark, in the same prayer referred to above with regard to the Church. At this point the Little Entrance in St. Mark begins, and this marks the beginning of St. Mark as it was at the end of the fifth century. The preliminary section of the Little Entrance in the present Ethiopic liturgy, preceding this point, is therefore a later addition. In other words, everything in the present Ethiopic liturgy previous to this point has been added since the end of the fifth century. Therefore beginning with the series of salutations, which follow, it will at any point be easy to decide what has been added to the original form of the Ethiopic liturgy (of the fifth century) by comparing its present form with that of St. Mark as reconstructed above.

Here in the present liturgy come salutations and rubrics which are slightly different from those in the other manuscripts, and also slightly differ from one another. The prayer which follows, beginning "Thou art the golden censer," is identical in all the manuscripts. Tasfa Sion puts all together in the following form: *Here the priest says,* "Let us worship the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one Trinity," *thrice, and the people in like manner. Priest,* "Peace be with thee, holy Christian Church, abode of peace. Peace be to thee, O Virgin Mary, Mother of God; thou art the golden censer which didst bear the coal of living fire. Blessed is he who receiveth out of the sanctuary him who forgiveth sins and blotteth out transgression, even God the Word, who took flesh of thee, who offered himself to his Father as incense and a precious sacrifice; we adore thee, O Christ, with thy good Father, and the Holy Ghost the giver of life, for thou dost come and save us." In the Coptic liturgies, only Basil has a similar section to that above described. A peculiarity comes out in the liturgy of Basil, in that the pictures of Mary, the angels, the apostles, etc., are censed.

Following this in the present rite there is an ascription and its rubric not found in any other manuscript. They are: *and on every great day and on the first day of the week and on the feast of Mary and on the feast of the Son,* "We worship thee, Christ, with thy good heavenly Father and thine Holy Spirit the lifegiver, for thou didst come and save us," *three times.* A corresponding ascription is found in Tasfa Sion.

Immediately after the ascription of the "golden censer," there follows in the present Ethiopic liturgy a series of rubrics, salutations, and prayers not found in any other manuscript. The ceremony is one of censing before the Lections, in which two memorials are made and the blessing of Paul pronounced, and this is followed by a blessing of the people with salutations and responses. In Western rites the series of prayers and salutations before the Little Entrance or procession and the Lections is represented by the *Gloria in Excelsis, Dominus Vobiscum,* and collects.

The Lections begin with the prayers introductory to the Epistle. After the rubric, *the assistant shall say,* there follows a prayer for the correct understanding of the words of the apostle Paul. Then follows in the present rite an ascription to the Trinity with its rubric; and then the prayer beginning "Lord our God who of old didst make the wall of Jericho to fall down"; then another ascription to the Trinity, and the Hail Mary; then the prayer beginning "O accepter of penitence and remitter of sin" with its rubric; then the anathema pronounced by the deacon on all who love not our Lord, etc.; then comes the Epistle, taken from I Cor. 11:23-29, with an ascription preceding and following and a reply by the people: "Holy apostle Paul, goodly messenger, healer of the sick, thou who hast received the crown; pray and intercede for us; cause our souls to be saved in the multitude of his loving kindness and his mercy for his holy name's sake."

The rite represented by the British Museum manuscripts is considerably shorter than the present service in this section. The order of the parts is also different. After the introductory prayer, "Lord of knowledge," comes the anathema by the deacon; then the reading of the Epistle with the censing and ascription; then a further ascription to the Trinity; then the prayer with the reference to the falling of the walls of Jericho; followed by the prayer "O accepter of penitence and remitter of sin"; then a blessing of the Trinity; and finally the people's response. *Berlin* 414 places the deacon's anathema at the very beginning of the section, and omits the rubric, *and then he shall read the Epistle of Paul.* Berlin 36 likewise begins with the deacon's anathema; then continues with the blessing of the Trinity; then it has a rubric and an ascription after the reading of the Epistles; then comes the Hail Mary as in the present service; then the prayer "O accepter of penitence and remitter of sin"; then it has the long prayer, "Lord of knowledge," preceded by salutations; and finally comes the response by the people. The service in *Berlin* 36 is in this portion more like the present service than any of the others. In Tasfa Sion the long prayer, "Lord of knowledge," comes first with its rubric; but the deacon's anathema does not appear, and instead is an ascription announcing the Epistle, and then after it is read comes the blessing of the Trinity, and finally the response by the people. In St. Mark before the Epistle comes the simple salutation: *Priest,* "Peace be to all"; *people,* "And to thy spirit"; then follows the πρόσχωμεν; then the Epistle with the prologue of the Hallelujah, and finally the request for the blessing by the deacon and the simple blessing pronounced by the priest: "May the Lord in his mercy bless and help us, now, henceforth and forever." It will thus be seen that since the time of the oldest Ethiopic liturgy, i. e. Greek St. Mark, this part of the service has undergone a steady development, its briefest form being found in St. Mark, a fuller form in Tasfa Sion, a still fuller one in the manuscripts representing the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the most highly developed form in the present service. Coptic Cyril and Basil are very much briefer than the present Ethiopic liturgy. In them the Epistle is introduced by a preface and followed by an ascription with various rubrics; but it is remarkable that the prayer for the correct understanding of the word of the Epistle comes last and is identical with the prayer, "Lord of knowledge," in the Ethiopic manuscripts. Only in late Basil occurs the rubric directing the Epistle to be read in Coptic and Arabic.

The Catholic Epistle is introduced by salutations, the prayer "O eternal God the first and the last," and the announcement of the Epistle by the deacon. The selection is followed by a short prayer, whereupon a second selection is read, and this is followed by an ascription and the sentence, "O my brethren love not the world neither the things that are in the world," and finally the people's"[28] response. All the other manuscripts are again briefer, but the order is the same as that of the present service. They have the salutation, the prayer "O eternal God," and the announcement by the deacon; but they omit all between the reading of the one selection and the sentence "O my brethren love not the world" etc; and finally they have the people's response. In Tasfa Sion the salutation is brief, being, *The priest shall say,* "Peace be with you all"; then follows the prayer "O eternal God"; then the announcement of the passage to be read; and after the Epistle comes the sentence "O my brethren love not the world" etc.; and finally the response by the people. Tasfa Sion is therefore almost word for word like the service in the manuscripts of the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. In St. Mark there is no reference to a Lection from the Catholic Epistles. The prayer in Coptic Cyril said at the end of the section on the reading of the Catholic Epistle does not correspond with the prayer in the same section in the Ethiopic liturgy, but it is the same as the prayer used in the latter in the section dealing with the Acts of the Apostles, and by its contents it belongs rather to the latter section, and may therefore have been used as an introductory prayer to the Acts of the Apostles, although that would be contrary to the usual order of prayers in the Coptic services; and further, the rubric in Coptic Basil leaves no doubt that the prayer under discussion in that service belongs to the section dealing with the Catholic Epistles. In both the Coptic services another prayer is assigned to the section dealing with the Acts of the Apostles. It begins "O God who didst accept the sacrifice of Abraham."

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[28] *Mercer* 3 has "deacon" which is probably an error for people, as the order demands it.

The Acts of the Apostles are introduced by a salutation and long prayer to God who revealed to the apostles the mystery of his Messiah; then follows the announcement of the selection; and then a short prayer embodying an account of the Institution. After the reading comes an ascription, and finally the response by the people. Again all the other manuscripts agree among themselves and agree with the present service, except that they have not the prayer embodying the account of the Institution. The service in Tasfa Sion is still shorter. A shortened salutation is followed by the prayer to God who revealed to the apostles the mystery of his Messiah.[29] No evidence of this section is found in Greek St. Mark. Coptic Cyril has the prayer, "O God who didst accept the sacrifice of Abraham," with ascriptions and the announcement of the selection; but in place of the response of the people it puts the *Trisagion* in the position of a preface to the Gospel and assigns it to be sung by the choir. The service is briefer here in Coptic Basil.

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[29] See the next paragraph for a misplaced portion of this section in Tasfa Sion.

In the present Ethiopic rite, the service of incense with the *Trisagion* is fully developed. First, comes the casting of the incense with an accompanying ascription, and then a prayer by the priest as he stands before the altar. It is the same prayer used in the Coptic service in the section on the reading from the Acts of the Apostles, "Lord our God who didst accept the sacrifice of our father Abraham." Then follows the memorial, as in the previous section on censing, and then follows the "Hail"; and after that the *Trisagion* is sung; then the Hail Mary; and finally the blessings and final ascription. The present service has here but one variant to the service as found in *Br. Mus.* 545 and 546. Before the rubric, *and then the priest shall go forth outside the veil,* there is an additional direction to chant, "he who raised himself at his resurrection is Christ; he hath raised the dead from death and triumphed in death over those who were in the grave, and hath given them a life of eternal rest." *Br. Mus.* 548 has two variations. After the casting of the incense comes a series of salutations, and the final direction to bless the chanting priests is omitted. *Berlin* 36 has a variation after the prayer, "Lord our God who didst accept the sacrifice of our father Abraham," and then continues practically the same as *Br. Mus.* 545. Tasfa Sion has an order more like that of the Coptic liturgies. The prayer to God who received the sacrifice of Abraham, with its rubric directing the offering of incense and with the following memorials, precedes the reading of the Acts of the Apostles with their ascription. This is followed by an ascription and what corresponds to the response of the people in the present liturgy—a kind of *Sanctus.* The section on incense in Tasfa Sion, like the same one in the Coptic liturgies, is scattered through the preceding section on the Acts of the Apostles. In Greek St. Mark we find the rubric, *the priest before the Gospel is read shall offer incense and shall say:* "Accept at thy holy, heavenly, and reasonable altar, O Lord, the incense we offer in presence of thy sacred glory. Send down upon us in return the grace of thy Holy Spirit, for thou art blessed, and let thy glory encircle us."

In the present service the Gospel is introduced by a series of salutations, a prayer to Christ, and a direction for the deacon to *pray on account of the Holy Spirit;* then comes a prayer by the priest. Then the deacon makes announcements, and the priest casts incense, while he prays for blessing and for the propagation of Christ's kingdom. Then comes a procession of the Gospel around the *tābōt* with salutations, and finally the deacon says: "stand up and hearken to the holy Gospel, the message of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ." Then follows another series of salutations. Then the priest announces the Gospel and the people respond, "Glory be to thee, Christ, my Lord and my God, at all times." Variant responses are given for special seasons. Then the assistant priest says: "O far from anger and abundant in mercy and righteous indeed, receive our prayer and our humility and our penitence and our confession towards thy *tābōt* and thine holy altar, heavenly, stainless, and spotless; make us meet to hear the word of thine holy Gospel and to keep thy commandments and thy testimony. Bless us that we may bear fruit, for one thirty-fold and sixty-fold and an hundred-fold." Then comes a long memorial prayer, and finally, after a salutation, the priest reads the Gospel. Then appropriate ascriptions are given for the different Gospels. The British Museum manuscripts are here somewhat briefer than the present service. The prayer in *Mercer* 3, said while the priest casts the incense, is somewhat fuller; and just before the procession of the Gospel the present service has a prayer concerning the propagation of the Gospel, with its rubric, which is not found in any of the other manuscripts. Finally, after the deacon says *stand up and hearken to the holy Gospel,* there is a series of salutations in *Mercer* 3, and after the priest announces the Gospel there is a fuller response on the part of the people. The Berlin manuscripts agree here, with a few slight variations in 36, with the manuscripts of the British Museum.

Tasfa Sion has a short salutation and then the prayer to Christ to make us worthy to hear the Gospel. Then the deacon says *pray at the holy Gospel,* and before the Gospel is read he says: "I will bless the Lord at all times, his praise shall ever be in my mouth. My soul shall make her boast in the Lord. Hallelujah. Hallelujah. Hallelujah. Stand up. Hear ye the holy Gospel, that which our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ announceth." Then the priest says a memorial prayer identical with the one beginning, "Remember again Lord." Then he invokes a blessing as in the present Ethiopic service; and then censes the Gospel, announcing it to the people. The salutations and long memorials are omitted, and the people respond "Glory to thee, O Christ, our Lord and God at all times. Be ye glad and rejoice in God who hath helped us, and sing unto the God of Jacob; take the psalm, and strike the timbrel; the sweet psalm with the harp." After the Gospel is read the people respond, "the cherubim and seraphim offer up praise to him saying Holy, Holy, Holy. The heavens and the earth are full of the sanctity of thy glory." The service in St. Mark is still briefer. *The deacon when he is about to read the Gospel, says,* "Lord bless us." Then the priest says, "May the Lord, who is the blessed God, bless and strengthen us, and make us hearers of his holy Gospel, now, henceforth, and for evermore. Amen." The deacon then says, "Stand and let us hear the holy Gospel." Then after a short salutation the deacon reads the Gospel. The service here in St. Mark and Tasfa Sion shows a much simpler form, without the frequent salutations, and without the procession of the Gospel, which we find in the later forms of the service. We have thus another good example of the way in which the Ethiopic liturgy gradually developed and expanded as time went on.

Coptic Cyril begins, without a salutation, with the same prayer with which the Ethiopic liturgy begins. The deacon then says *pray on account of the holy Gospel,* and the people respond "Lord have mercy." Then follows the same prayer as in the Ethiopic liturgy, "Remember again"; then follows a series of salutations with psalms; and then the memorial prayers as in the Ethiopic liturgy. The reading of the Gospel takes place before the memorial prayers. Coptic Basil is much fuller and more like the Ethiopic liturgy. The Coptic liturgies indicate that the Sermon follows the Gospel.

It is interesting to note that in none of the manuscripts, with the exception of *Mercer* 3, are the Lections given in full. The initial and final words of the Lection are usually given, and the reader is therefore supposed to have a book containing the passages in full. From our knowledge of Coptic manuscripts, we know that the books of the Old and New Testaments were divided into sections for use in the liturgy, and proper Lections were arranged for special days and seasons. Such books were necessary for the celebration of the Eucharist and were called in Ethiopic the *Sherʿāta geçāwē, ordo synopseos,* or Lectionary.[30]

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[30] For a discussion, and literature on the Lectionary in the Egyptian Church, see Schermann, *Der Katholik, op. cit.* pp. 248-252.

Lections are common to all liturgies both Eastern and Western; but in the West as early as the end of the fifth century only two scripture lessons were usual. Before that time there was in addition a prophetic lesson. After the lessons Justin Martyr says that the bishop preached a sermon, and although we have no references to a sermon in Ethiopic manuscripts, the rubric in the Coptic liturgy would lead us to infer a sermon for the Ethiopic service, although we know that preaching disappeared from the Roman liturgy at an early period.[31]

C. After the Gospel the deacon says: *go forth, ye Catechumens.* This is followed in the present service by the *prayer of Basil,* which in the British Museum manuscripts follows immediately after the *prayer of the Mystery.* This is also the order in *Berlin* 36. After the reading of the Gospel in St. Mark, the priest says a prayer which corresponds with the long memorial prayer in the later Ethiopic liturgies. It is remarkable that the direction by the deacon to the Catechumens does not come here in St. Mark, but after the salutation in the Great Entrance which, as is shown elsewhere, is probably late. The direction reads, "take care that none of the Catechumens." Some such word as "remain" is supposed to be omitted. The very form of the direction, however, would seem to presuppose a previous order, omitted from the text, corresponding to the one transmitted in the manuscripts, namely, "go forth, ye Catechumens."

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[31] See Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl. Lib.* VII, *cap.* XIX.

Such a rubric would have come at the end of the prayer for the sick and travellers, etc.[32] In Coptic Cyril and Basil the Gospel is followed by memorial prayers.

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[32] It is interesting to note that in Tasfa Zion, at the Kiss of Peace, the direction is given, "Ye who do not communicate, go forth."

LECTURE V

THE PRESENT ETHIOPIC LITURGY FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE MISSA FIDELIUM TO THE END OF THE INSTITUTION

D. The more solemn part of the liturgy known as the *Missa Fidelium,* or Mass of the Faithful, begins in the present liturgy with a series of rubrics, salutations and responses followed by prayers for the faithful, including the Church, the people and king Menīlek, his princes, nobles, and armies; prayers in which the priest and the deacon take part and to which the people respond Κύριε ἐλέησον. Then follows a direction by the deacon to "stand up for prayer," with an accompanying series of rubrics, salutations and responses. After that are said three prayers, one for the present *Abūna* by the priest;[1] one for the "lord archbishop of the great city of Alexandria, and other orthodox bishops, presbyters, and deacons, by the deacon; and one for the blessed pope abba Peter,[2] by the priest. The deacon again calls for prayer, and there follows a series of rubrics, salutations, and responses, together with a prayer for the congregation said by the priest, with an intervening call to prayer by the deacon. We have here a three-fold series of prayers, all on behalf of the faithful and each series introduced by salutations and responses. A preparation is thus made for the confession of faith which follows, although, as we shall see, the Creed, at least in its developed and stereotyped form, is a comparatively late addition to the Eucharistic service. It must be remembered, however, that forms of confession of faith were associated with the liturgy at a comparatively early period, as the *Dêr Balyzeh Papyrus* teaches us.

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[1] According to the British Museum manuscripts and others, but omitted in *Mercer* 3.

[2] Bishop of Tigré.

The British Museum manuscripts omit the initial rubric, *The deacon shall say,* and insert a rubric in the last prayer which reads: *blessing with the figure of the sign of the cross.* Otherwise they represent a service identical with the present one. *Berlin* 36 and 414 are identical with the present service, with the exception in *Berlin* 414 of the omission of the rubric, *The priest shall say,* in the last part of the second series of prayers.

In Tasfa Sion the first series of salutations and responses is briefer than in the present service, but after the deacon's invitation to prayer for the Church, the people say, "O Lord our God give us peace. Christ our king have mercy upon us." This seems to take the place of the **Κύριε ἐλέησον** at the end of the first series of prayers. It omits the second series of salutations and responses altogether, and goes directly from the prayer for the Church and people to that for the bishops. It also omits the third series of salutations and responses before the prayer for the congregation; but after the Deacon's call to prayer it has a salutation and response not found in the manuscripts. They are: *And the people shall say,* "bless and preserve our congregation in peace"; *and then they shall say,* we believe." The third prayer is very brief.

Greek St. Mark commences the Mass of the Faithful with a direction given by the deacon to begin. Then a rubric follows which says, *then they say the verse; the deacon says the three.* The word "three" probably refers to a threefold prayer which ultimately developed into the threefold series of prayers with rubrics, salutations, and responses of the later Ethiopic liturgies. Here in St. Mark comes the Great Entrance.[3] In the other Egyptian liturgies there is no separate Great Entrance; the Enarxis combines the Little and the Great Entrance, and here also the offertory is made, coming where the Little Entrance occurs in later forms of St. Mark and the Byzantine liturgies. It is not possible on the basis of our present material to decide definitely whether or not the position of the Great Entrance, or part of the Enarxis, of St. Mark changed its position in the liturgy as a result of Constantinopolitan influence. What seems likely is that it, as well as the Enarxis, was added to the original St. Mark after the other Egyptian liturgies had been completely separated from it. Later the Enarxis was added, as also to the other Egyptian liturgies, and in St. Mark a part of it was placed after the prayer of the faithful, in agreement with the liturgy of Constantinople. The Great Entrance consists of a salutation and two offertory prayers.

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[3] "E," according to the *rationale* adopted in the present discussion.

The Mass of the Faithful in the Coptic liturgies begins with a *prayer of the veil,* which bears an analogy to the Constantinopolitan form; other prayers follow. The number of prayers in the different Oriental liturgies at this point is comparatively great. The most important are, (1) a prayer in Coptic Cyril addressed to the Father and ascribed to John of Bostra, (2) a prayer τοῦ καταπετάσματος in Greek Gregory, (3) and in Greek Basil a prayer beginning Δοξάζομέν σε δημιουργὲ καὶ βασιλεῦ τῶν ὅλων.

Like the Byzantine liturgies, the Armenian liturgy has the Great Entrance at this point. The Western rites, Roman, Mozarabic, and Gallican, all agree in this arrangement with the Byzantine and later St. Mark; but Syriac St. James is like the other Egyptian liturgies in this respect.

In later times the pomp connected with the Great Entrance, especially on feasts or when the patriarch celebrated, was very great. The unconsecrated elements are here adored and have been a source of great scandal to many liturgical writers. It is interesting to note that the same custom obtains in Ethiopia, as well as in the Coptic Church and among the Jacobites of Syria.

Just before the Great Entrance in the Byzantine liturgies comes the Cherubic Hymn—a hymn not earlier than the time of Justinian and quite unknown to the Western Church. It is said in secret by the priest while being chanted. It is neither in St. Mark nor in any of the other Egyptian liturgies.

G. After the prayer of the faithful in the present Ethiopic liturgy, there comes the following: *the deacon shall say, speak we all in the wisdom of the Lord; answer ye the prayer of faith.* In all the British Museum manuscripts, this serves as an introduction to the recitation of the Nicene Creed by the people. *Mercer* 3 omits the Creed here and places it immediately after the Kiss of Peace and before the Anaphora. Although this agrees with the order of Greek St. Mark in its oldest extant form,[4] and with Coptic

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[4] In the original form of St. Mark as it existed before the final development of the Nicene Creed, there probably existed no set form of the Creed, although there is evidence to show (e. g. the service in the *Dêr Balyzeh Papyrus*) that a confession of faith was said in the liturgy. There probably was also no set place in the service where the confession of faith would come, e. g. in the *Dêr Balyzeh Papyrus* the Symbol comes at the very end of the service. Even in the extant form of St. Mark there seems to be the remnant of a confession of faith which was said immediately after, and in connection with, the Words of Institution, a most appropriate place. The remnant reads, "O sovereign and Almighty Lord, king of heaven, while we show forth the death of thine only-begotten Son, our Lord, God, and Saviour Jesus Christ, and acknowledge his blessed resurrection from the dead on the third day, we do also openly declare his ascension into heaven, and his sitting on the right hand of thee, God and Father, and await his second terrible and dreadful coming, in which he will come to judge righteously the quick and the dead, and to render

Basil and also with the Byzantine liturgies, it is probably meant to be said after the introductory formula mentioned above, which is said by the deacon. This would agree with the order in Coptic Cyril and Tasfa Sion, as well as in *Berlin* 414. *Berlin* 36 omits it altogether, but has the same formula as the other manuscripts, and undoubtedly it was recited. An earlier form of St. Mark, as noted before, probably had the Creed before the Kiss of Peace. The liturgy of the Armenians is peculiar in having the Creed at the very beginning of the Mass of the Faithful.

Attempts to express and even formulate beliefs about God are to be found in the literary remains of the most ancient peoples, e. g. in the fifteenth chapter of the Book of the Dead a hymn to the rising and setting sun has the following:

> "Hail to thee, Ra, the self-existent—
> Glorious is thine uprising from the
> horizon. Both worlds are illumined by
> thy rays—Hail to thee, Ra, when thou
> returnest home in renewed beauty,
> crowned and almighty."

Again, Amon-Ra is confessed as "the good god, beloved maker of men, creator of beasts, maker of things below and above, lord of mercy most loving." The Old Testament creed reads, "Hear O Israel; Yahveh our God, Yahveh is one"[5] (שמע ישראל יהוה אלהינו

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to each man according to his works." This, it is true, refers only to the Son and his work, but it is remarkable that it occurs in no other liturgy at this point.

[5] Dt. 6: 4.

יהוה אחד). There are many allusions to such confessions in the New Testament, but perhaps the earliest germ of the Christian Creed is to be found in I Tim. 3 : 16, "Confessedly great is the mystery of godliness: Who (God) was manifested in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached among the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up in glory" (*Ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἐστίν τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστῆριον. Ὃς [θεὸς] ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι, ὤφθη ἀγγέλοις, ἐκηρύχθη ἐν ἔθνεσιν, ἐπιστεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ, ἀνελήμφθη ἐν δόξῃ*).

The only Christian creeds previous to the fourth century were Baptismal. Those confessions or rules of faith found in ecclesiastical writings of the second and third centuries mark the transitions from New Testament expressions of belief to the creeds of the Councils, or Oecumenical creeds.[6]

The most important Christian Creed is the so-called Nicene, which is the only one known to have been generally used in the Eucharistic service. Its present form, however, is not identical with the Creed put forth at Nicea in 325. The Nicene Creed was formulated against the Arian heresy, which sprang up as a recoil from the heresy of Sabellianism. Arius, a priest of Alexandria, taught that the Son was not very God. In the council, called by the Emperor Constantine, two creeds were submitted for adoption, one by Eusebius of Nicomedia and one by

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[6] For a collection of these with comparative tables see Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, Vol. II, New York, 1882.

Eusebius of Caesarea. That of Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea in Palestine (†340), which was said by him to be the Baptismal creed of his own Church, was adopted as a basis of the creed about to be promulgated. It thus forms the connecting link between the Baptismal creeds of the ante-Nicene Church and the Eucharistic creeds of succeeding ages. The Creed of Eusebius as presented to the Council was:

"We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible.

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, God of God, light of light, life of life, the only-begotten Son, the first-born of every creature, begotten of God the Father before all ages, by whom all things were made; who for our salvation was made flesh and made his home among men; and suffered; and rose on the third day; and ascended to the Father; and will come again in glory, to judge the quick and the dead.

And in one Holy Ghost."

It is very similar to the Nicene Creed of 325, but the characteristic word of the latter creed, the test-word ὁμοούσιος, meaning consubstantial, is wanting. The Nicene Creed of 325 reads:

"We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible.

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, only-begotten—that is, of the substance of the Father—God of God, light of light, very God of very God, begotten not made, being of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made, both that are in heaven and that are in earth; who for us men and for our salvation, came down and was incarnate and was made man; suffered and rose again the third day; and ascended into heaven; and is coming to judge the quick and the dead.

And in the Holy Ghost."

The new Creed was not intended to supersede the local Baptismal creeds which already existed, but was meant primarily for bishops. It was a long time before the Creed was accepted by the whole Church, and even then it was accepted only after alterations had been introduced. During the years following the Council of Nicea there was a series of alternatives suggested for the Creed. Local creeds were enlarged by the insertion of the Nicene definitions concerning the nature of Christ, and other clauses were added to them, as well as to the original Nicene Creed, as fresh forms of heresy arose: thus e. g., the heresy of Marcellus of Ancyra was the occasion of the introduction of the words, "whose kingdom shall have no end"; Apollinarianism gave the clause "(and was incarnate) of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary"; and Macedonianism added a statement in expansion of "and in the Holy Ghost" which is virtually identical with that in our present Nicene Creed.

This enlarged Creed was in existence in its full form in 373 or 374, as we learn from the *Ancoratus* of Epiphanius of Cyprus in which it occurs. The Council of Constantinople of 381 ratified the original Nicene Creed. There is no direct evidence of the use of the enlarged Creed from 374 to the Council of Chalcedon in 451, at which both the original Nicene and the enlarged Creed were read and adopted, and where the authority of Constantinople for the enlarged form was claimed. This claim, however, seems to have been based on a mistake, though the enlarged form may have been known at Constantinople. Constantinople never meant the enlarged Creed to be a substitute for the original Nicene Creed. It was later that the substitution took place. After the Council of Chalcedon the enlarged Creed only gradually came into general use; and for a considerable time it was considered both in East and West as distinct from the Nicene Creed and was given only second place. As time went on confusion arose, and the name "Nicene" was transferred to the enlarged form. The form which it took in the West is much later than Chalcedon, where it did not come into clear view till 589, at the Council of Toledo[7] in Spain. The Western form has two additions to that of Chalcedon. They are: "God of God," and the *Filioque*.[8] The enlarged Creed is as follows:

> "We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible.
>
> And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, born of the Father before all ages, light of light, very God of very God, begotten not made,

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[7] Brightman, *LEW*, 532, 46.

[8] See the article "Nicene Creed" in Harford and Stevenson, *The Prayer Book Dictionary*, New York, 1912. For a discussion of when the *Filioque* was adopted, see Burn, *Jr. Theo. Stud.* 1908.

> consubstantial with the Father, by whom all things were made; who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven; and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man; was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate; and suffered; and was buried; and the third day he rose again according to the scriptures; and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father; and shall come again with glory to judge the living and dead; of whose kingdom there shall be no end.
>
> And in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father, who together with the Father and the Son is to be worshipped and glorified, who spake by the prophets; one holy, Catholic and apostolic Church; we confess one baptism for the remission of sins; we look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen."

The official use of the Nicene Creed in the liturgy began with its introduction into the Eucharistic service by Peter the Fuller, patriarch of Antioch in 476-488,[9] and later in Constantinople by the patriarch Timothy in 512-518.[10] Whether it was the enlarged form or the original Nicene is not clear. However, in 565-566 [11] the enlarged form was officially adopted by Emperor Justin II, and henceforth it seems to have been generally used throughout the Greek Church. At the present time it is the only Creed used in the Eastern Church, though the East Syrians have a variant form of their own, and the Abyssinians have a shorter form used in the Baptismal service. The sequence of the Creed and Kiss of Peace in the different Eastern liturgies has been generally disturbed by accretions or the cross-influence of rites. The form of the Nicene Creed used in the Greek liturgies is that which was ratified at Chalcedon, while the form used in the Syro-Jacobite, Nestorian, Coptic, Armenian and Ethiopic liturgies is the local Baptismal Creed with Nicene additions. The Byzantine liturgies with St. James and St. Mark have the simpler "I believe." The Coptic, Nestorian, Armenian and Ethiopic liturgies have "we believe."

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[9] Brightman, *LEW*, 485, 10.

[10] Brightman, *LEW*, 532, 32.

[11] Brightman, *LEW*, 532, 32.

The theory of Probst that the Creed had been used in Rome before the Council of Toledo has not been confirmed. Rome did not finally adopt it till the eleventh century in the reign of the Emperor Henry II, who persuaded Benedict VIII to admit the Creed with the *Filioque* clause into the liturgy.

As remarked above, the Creed adopted in the Ethiopic liturgy was a local Baptismal one with Nicene additions. This did not take place till after Greek St. Mark had been adopted. The forerunners of the local Baptismal Creed, which, with additions, was later adopted into the liturgy, are to be found in the *Papyrus of Dêr Balyzeh*[12] of the second century, in the *Ethiopic Church Order*[13] of the third century, and in the *Verona Fragments*[14] of the fourth century. All these were used at Baptismal services, but the Creed in *Dêr Balyzeh* is found in a Papyrus which contains a regular Eucharistic service, and may have been used there as well as at a Baptismal Eucharist.

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[12] Schermann, *op. cit.* p. 10.
[13] Horner, *op. cit.* p. 173.
[14] Hauler, *op. cit.* p. 113.

What is apparently by far the oldest extant copy of the Nicene Creed is a papyrus of the sixth century found in Egypt, and now in the John Rylands Library[15] at Manchester, England. It is unfortunately mutilated but it contains a portion of the Creed as used in Egypt before or just about the time when the Chalcedonian Creed began to be generally adopted.

As already stated, the Creed in the *Dêr Balyzeh Papyrus,* as well as those in the *Ethiopic Church Order* and the *Verona Latin Fragments,* was that used at a Baptismal Eucharist, although it might very well have been used in the regular liturgy. That in the *Verona Fragments* is very brief, "In Deo patre omnipotenti. Et domino Jesu Christo et spiritu sancto et sancta ecclesia." Those who receive respond "Amen." The Creed in the *Ethiopic Church Order* is fuller. It reads, "I believe in one God, the Father above all, Almighty, and in the only Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Spirit, and in the resurrection of the body, and in the holy assembly, the one Catholic Church. Amen." This is practically the same Creed as that in the *Dêr Balyzeh Papyrus,* except that there is more reason to believe that the Creed in the papyrus was used at a regular Eucharist. This Creed may be considered the Egyptian stock upon which the additions of the Councils were grafted, and which developed into an Ethiopic equivalent of the enlarged form of the Nicene Creed as officially adopted in the sixth century. The growth of heresies gave rise to the need of a more detailed and definitely expressed Creed, and resulted in the creeds of the Councils. In the *John Rylands Papyrus* we have concrete evidence of the meeting of such a need, and we may feel sure that it was not very long after the Council of Chalcedon before the Ethiopic Church began to use, in its liturgy, a full form of the so-called Nicene Creed, probably the same enlarged form of that Creed which was officially adopted by the Emperor Justin II in 565-566. However, the oldest extant form of the Abyssinian Eucharistic Creed in Ethiopic does not antedate the seventeenth century, although we have a printed form of the Creed in Tasfa Sion which represents a manuscript of the sixteenth century or earlier.

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[15] Published in the *Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the J. R. Lib. Manchester,* Vol. I, by A. S. Hunt, Manchester, 1911.

The following tables will show the Creed as used in, or influencing, the Ethiopic liturgy at different important periods.

Creed of the Dêr Balyzeh Papyrus	*Creed of the John Rylands Papyrus*
	[+αυτη η πιστις . . . .
	αφθ]αρτος ως κ/ . [. . . .
	. . . .
	. . ωρισ]εν η αγιε[16] εκκλ[ησια
. . . .	. . . .
ομολογει την πιστιν	. . . τη]ς Ρωμης ηγουμε(ν)

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[16] ἅγιε is a slip for ἅγια.

	[. . . . . πιστευ
πιστευω εισ θ̅ν̅ π̅ρ̅α̅ πα[ντοκ]ρατορ[α	[ομεν εις ενα θ̅ν̅ π̅ρ̅α̅ παντοκρατορα παντων ορ]ατων τε και αορ[ατων ποιητην κ/ εις
και εις τον μονογενη α[υτου] υ̅ν̅ τ[ον κ̅ν̅ ημων ι̅ν̅ χ̅ν̅	[ενα κν Ι̅η̅ν̅ Χ̅ν̅ τον υν του θ̅υ̅ γεννηθεντα εκ τ]ου πατρος, μο[νο]γ[ενη τουτεστιν
	[εκ της ουσιας του π̅ρ̅ο̅ς̅ θ̅ν̅ εκ θ̅υ̅ φως εκ φωτος θ̅ν̅ αληθεινον[17] εκ [θ̅υ̅ αληθινου
	[γεννηθεντα ου ποιηθεντα ομοουσιον τω π̅]ρι δι ου τα παντα ε[γενετο τα τε εν
	[τω ουρανω κ/ τα εν τη γη τον δι ημας το]υς [α̅ν̅ο̅υ̅]ς κ/ δια την ημε[τεραν σωτηριαν] . ιμε[. . . .]. . . . . .
	[κατελθοντα[18] κ/ σαρκωθεντα[19] ενανθρωπη]σαντ[α] παθοντα κ/ ανα[σταντα τη γ̅ ημερα
	[ανελθοντα εις τους ουρανους ερχο]μεν[ον] κριναι ζωντας [κ/ νεκρους κ/

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[17] More likely ἀληθινόν.

[18] Supply ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν.

[19] καὶ omitted here.

και εις[το π]να το α[γιο̄	[εις το αγιον π̅ν̅α̅ τους δε λεγον]τας. [η]ν ποτε οτε ουκ ην [κ/] πριν γεννηθηνα[ι
	[ουκ ην κ/ οτι εξ ουκ οντων εγενε]το ἢ εξ ετερας· υποστ[α]σεως ἢ ουσιας
και εις σαρκος αναστασ[ιν και]	[φασκοντας ειναι η τρεπτον η αλλοι]ωτον τον υ̅ν̅ του θ̅υ̅ τουτους αναθεματιζε
αγια καθολικη εκκλησια[20]	[η[21] καθολικη κ/ αποστολικη εκκλησι]α αυτη μου η πιστις μετα ταυτης της ονομ[α
τ(ελος)	[σιας . . . .] τω φρικτω βηματι του δεσπο(του) χ̅υ̅ εν τη φοβερα
	[ημερα εκεινη η παλιν ελευσεται εν] τη ιδια δοξη κριναι ζωντας κ/ νεκρους
	[κ/ βασιλευσαι συν αγιοις εις τους αιω]νας των αιωνων αμην +

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[20] For the nominative of the phrase ἁγία καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία where we should expect the accusative with εἰς, see Schermann *Der liturgische Papyrus von Dêr Balyzeh*, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 33ff.; See also Harford and Stevenson, *op. cit.*, "Nicene Creed."

[21] Note the omission of ἅγια.

The enlarged form of the Nicene Creed as officially adopted in the sixth century

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα ΘΕΟΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΑ παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων·

Καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον ἸΗΣΟΥΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΝ, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί, δι᾽ οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο· τὸν δι᾽ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ παθόντα καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὰς γραφάς, καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς, καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρός, καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ

The Creed in the present Ethiopic Liturgy

We believe in one God, the Lord, the Father Almighty, the eternal, maker of the heavens and the earth, the visible and the invisible.

And we believe in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only Son of the Father, who was with him before the world was created, light of light, God of very God, begotten not made, equal with the Father in his Godhead; by whom all things were made, but without him was not anything made, neither in heaven nor in earth; who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnate of the Holy Ghost and of Mary, of the holy Virgin; he was made man and was crucified for us in the days of Pontius Pilate, he suffered and died and was buried, and rose again from the dead on the third day, as it is written in the holy scriptures; he ascended with glory into the heavens and sat down on the right hand of his Father; he shall νεκρούς· οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος.

Καὶ εἰς τὸ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΤΟ ἍΓΙΟΝ, τὸ κύριον, (καὶ) τὸ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ συνπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον, τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν. εἰς μίαν, ἁγίαν, καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ὁμολογοῦμεν ἓν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. προσδοκῶμεν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν, καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. Ἀμήν.

come again with glory to judge the quick and the dead, and of his kingdom there shall be no end.

And we believe in the Holy Ghost the Lord, the giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father; we worship and glorify him with the Father and the Son; who spake by the prophets; and we believe in one holy Church, catholic, apostolic; and we believe in one baptism for the remission of sin; and we look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life to come world without end. (Amen.)

When we compare the Creed of the *Dêr Balyzeh Papyrus* with other early creeds,[22] we find that in point of simplicity it is very much like the old Apostles' Creed, which begins *πιστεύω εἰς θεὸν παντοκράτορα,* while the Creeds of Irenaeus, Eusebius, and Alexander of Alexandria have either the form *εἰς ἕνα θεὸν πατέρα . . .* or *εἰς μόνον ἀγέννητον πατέρα . . .* This first clause is likewise simple in the *Verona Fragments,* but is somewhat fuller in the *Ethiopic Church Order* where it reads, "I believe in one God, the Father above all, Almighty." When we come to the Creed of the *John Rylands Papyrus* we are in the atmosphere of the Eucharist, for here we have a Creed Nicene in character. After the title the Creed begins, "We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible." C. H. Turner, in his *History and Use of the Creeds in the early centuries of the Church,* 1906, expresses the consensus of opinion of liturgical scholars when he says, "no trace can be found in any of the Greek liturgies of another creed than that of Constantinople." Previous to Constantinople, or better, previous to the time of the enlarged form of the Nicene Creed, the only Creed for whose use in the liturgy there is any evidence is that found in the *Dêr Balyzeh Papyrus;* but although the service described therein is a regular Eucharist, not merely a Baptismal Eucharist, the Creed is the regular Baptismal Creed, and the conclusion to which this unavoidably leads is, that the Baptismal Creeds of early days may have been used in the liturgy, although in no set form or place. However, the only Creed regularly associated with the liturgy was the so-called Nicene Creed, or better, the enlarged form of the Nicene Creed. Now, the Creed in the *John Rylands Papyrus* is unique in that it is the oldest extant copy of that famous Symbol, and, moreover, it represents the Egyptian use. It will be interesting, therefore, to compare it step by step with that Creed which undoubtedly influenced the Ethiopic Creed (if it was not adopted *in toto*), namely, the enlarged form of the Nicene Creed; and we shall compare it likewise with later forms of the Ethiopic Creed.

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[22] See Lietzmann, *Symbole der alten Kirche,* Bonn, 1906; and Schaff, *op. cit.;* for the early Creeds.

The enlarged form of the Nicene Creed has for its first clause, "We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible." It adds one clause to the Creed in the *John Rylands Papyrus,* a clause, however, which is not fundamental, but merely in the nature of fuller definition. This clause in the Ethiopic Creed of the sixteenth century, as given in Tasfa Sion, is word for word the same as that in the enlarged Nicene Creed, though in the personal Creed of Claudius, King of Ethiopia 1541-1559, given by Ludolfus in his *Ad suam historiam Aethiopicam,* this clause is very brief, being, "We believe in one God"; but it must be remembered that this is only a personal confession of faith. *Br. Mus. Ms.* 545 of the seventeenth century presents only one slight addition, the title "Lord," and reads "We believe in one God the Lord." Moreover, the Creed preserved in Ludolfus, which represents the seventeenth century at the latest, makes the same addition. The Creed of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is verbally the same, as the *Br. Mus. Mss.* 546 and 548 show. *Berlin* 36 has not preserved the Creed, and 414 has merely a paraphrase, in some places brief and in others expanded. The Creed as used in the present Ethiopic liturgy has one further addition, the title "eternal," reading, "We believe in one God, the Lord the Father Almighty, the eternal, maker of the heavens and the earth, the visible and the invisible."

The middle portion of the Creed in the *Dêr Balyzeh Papyrus* is very simple, "And in his only begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ"; and simpler still in the *Ethiopic Church Order,* "And in the only Son, our Lord Jesus Christ"; and simplest of all in the *Verona Fragments,* "And in the Lord Jesus Christ." In the *Dêr Balyzeh* Creed this part agrees word for word with the Apostles' Creed, except that the order is different; both creeds give the Son the attribute υἱὸν αὐτοῦ μονογενῆ, which is also ascribed to him by Origen, Dionysius of Alexandria, and Cyril of Jerusalem; while Irenaeus has the form εἰς ἕνα Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ. The Creed in *John Rylands Papyrus* is quite full here (see above). There are, however, certain peculiarities, e.g., μονογενῆ comes after πατρός instead of before θεόν as in Eusebius' Creed, or immediately after θεοῦ as in the enlarged form of Nicea. The phrase τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρός is unusual; and in the clause "which are in heaven and on earth" is added as explanatory to the works of creation, and is peculiar in its position. The important phrase ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς Παρθένου which first appears in the Creed of Epiphanius, and is found in the enlarged Nicene Creed, is omitted from this papyrus. There is, however, an illegible insertion above the line which may possibly represent the omission. The following phrases are also not found in this part of the Rylands Creed: σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου; καὶ ταφέντα; καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρός; and οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος. The enlarged Nicene Creed, besides having these phrases not found in the Rylands Creed, has the additional phrases πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων; τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους; and κατὰ τὰς γραφάς. The phrase "that is of the substance of the Father" is found in Epiphanius' Creed, and it is also interesting to note that the position of the phrase "which are in heaven and on earth" in the latter agrees with its position in the same early Creed. In fact the Creed to which John Rylands corresponds most closely is this first Symbol of Epiphanius of 374 A. D., preserved in his *Ancoratus*.

The Creed in Tasfa Sion is practically identical in its second section with the enlarged form of the Nicene Symbol. The only differences are that the phrase "and without whom was not anything made in heaven and earth" is added to "by whom all things were made"; and the statement that "he ascended *with glory* into heaven" is inserted. King Claudius' confession of faith is more a paraphrase of the Creed, but is very interesting in this section. It reads, "And in his only Son, Jesus Christ, who is his Word and his power, his counsel and his wisdom, who was with him before the world was created; but in the last days he came to us, not however that he might leave the throne of his divinity; and was made man of the Holy Ghost, and of the holy Virgin Mary; and was baptized in Jordan, in his thirtieth year; and was perfect man; and was hanged on the wood of the cross, in the days of Pontius Pilate; suffered, died, and was buried; and rose again the third day; and afterward on the fortieth day he ascended with glory into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of his Father; and he shall come again with glory, to judge the quick and the dead; and of his kingdom there shall be no end."

During all the centuries from the time of Tasfa Sion to the present day, this part of the Creed in the Ethiopic Church has remained verbally the same. Not a single change has been made. And as the above comparison between the Creed of Tasfa Sion and the enlarged Nicene Symbol shows, practically no change has been made since the fifth century.

The third and last section of the Creed in the *Dêr Balyzeh Papyrus* reads, "And in the Holy Ghost; and in the resurrection of the flesh; and in the holy catholic Church." The first part of this section corresponds exactly with the primitive Apostles' Creed and with that of Origen. But as early as Irenaeus the title, διὰ προφητῶν κεκηρυχός κτλ was used in connection with the Holy Ghost; and the same writer has ἀναστᾶσαν πᾶσαν σάρκα πάσης ἀνθρωπότητος, while Alexander of Alexandria has τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν as also the first Creed of Epiphanius. Cyril of Jerusalem is quite simple, εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν. The primitive Apostles' Creed omits the word καθολική, while Alexander of Alexandria is quite full here, having, (εἰς) μίαν μόνην καθολικὴν τὴν ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Cyril of Jerusalem has (εἰς) μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, and the first Creed of Epiphanius adds to this the words καὶ αποστολικήν. Note the peculiarity in placing the Church after the resurrection of the flesh, which is opposed to the order in the Apostles' Creed, Alexander of Alexandria, Cyril of Jerusalem, and in the first Creed of Epiphanius. The Creed of

Arius is the only one among the early Symbols with a similar order.

This part of the Creed in the *Verona Fragments* reads, *et spiritu sancto et sancta ecclesia. Amen,* and in the *Ethiopic Church Order,* "And in the Holy Spirit, and in the resurrection of the body, and in the holy assembly, the one catholic Church. Amen." It is interesting to note that the *Ethiopic Church Order* places the clauses about the Church and the resurrection of the body in the same sequence as the Creed of *Dêr Balyzeh Papyrus,* both representing Egypt. This order, however, was not transmitted to the later Creeds of that region.

We have additional reason to believe in the relationship between the Creed in the *John Rylands Papyrus* and the first Symbol of Epiphanius; for immediately after the very brief clause on the Holy Ghost, *καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα,* with its unusual order, *ἅγιον πνεῦμα,* we have the same concluding anathema against the Arians as is found in Epiphanius' first Symbol. It reads, "But whosoever says, 'There was a time when he was not,' and 'He was not before he was begotten,' or 'He was made of nothing,' or 'of another substance or essence,' saying that the Son of God is changeable or variable, these the catholic and apostolic Church anathematizes." This is followed by a declaration of belief in the day of judgment and in the Lord as judge, and finally, there is a doxology.

Where the enlarged Nicene Creed shows most development is in its third section. Even the Creed of the *John Rylands Papyrus* is very brief in that part, although both Symbols of Epiphanius are well developed. On account of the otherwise great similarity between Epiphanius and the Rylands Creed, it is tempting to conclude that the latter is a copy of Epiphanius in an earlier form, though later than the Council of Nicea, as is shown by the presence of the anathema at the end. The date of the Rylands Creed would be somewhere between 325 and 374. We should then have in the Rylands Creed an Egyptian representative of the Nicene Creed before the latter finally became enlarged. It would, therefore, be legitimate to assume that the Creed as we have it in the *John Rylands Papyrus* represents the earliest form of the so-called Nicene Creed, as used in the Ethiopic Church.

The enlarged Nicene Creed has in the third section precisely what is found in the first Symbol of Epiphanius. This enlargement goes back then to 374 at the latest.

If the Ethiopic Church used the Rylands Creed, of course it accepted the additions at the same time as the other Eastern Churches. At any rate, the Creed in Tasfa Sion of the sixteenth century is word for word the same in this section as the enlarged Nicene Creed. And this form has remained exactly the same down to the present day. Even Claudius' Creed is less paraphrased here than in any other parts, reading, "And we believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father; and we believe in one baptism for the remission of sins; and we look for the resurrection of the dead, for eternal life to come. Amen."

Of course the *Filioque* is unknown to the Creed of the Eastern Church. It was foisted into the text of Tasfa Sion, but, naturally, was not in the manuscript or manuscripts from which that text was made.

As noted above, the word "holy" as applied to the Church is not present in the Rylands Creed. But according to Oriental Creeds it ought to be supplied, although it may have been intentionally omitted as probably in the case of the Creed in the Anglican Prayer Book. (Harford and Stevenson, *The Prayer Book Dictionary,* p. 483.)

To sum up: Previous to, and well into, the fourth century, in Abyssinia as well as in the rest of the Orient, as we learn from the *Dêr Balyzeh Papyrus,* the *Ethiopic Church Order,* and the *Verona Fragments,* only a Baptismal Creed was used. In 325 the Nicene Creed was drawn up on the basis of a Baptismal Symbol of Eusebius of Caesarea. After 325 the Creed was expanded to the form which we find in the *Ancoratus* of Epiphanius in 374. Some time between 325 and 374 a form of the Nicene Creed which is preserved in a sixth century manuscript, namely, the *John Rylands Papyrus,* undoubtedly existed in Egypt, and most likely in Abyssinia as soon as the Church was established in that country. According as the development represented by the Symbol of Epiphanius and the enlarged Nicene Creed proceeded, the Rylands' Creed was adopted in Egypt and likewise in Abyssinia. At what point chronologically the different forms of the Nicene Creed were adopted into the liturgy in any ecclesiastical centre cannot be determined; but it is reasonable to suppose that the Nicene Symbol began to be used in a general way not long after the Council of Nicea. It was not, however, officially adopted in the Greek Empire till the sixth century, and the form adopted then was the enlarged Nicene Creed which had been ratified by the Council of Chalcedon and which had gradually replaced the Nicene Creed. The enlargements were naturally added to the Rylands Creed in Egypt or, in other words, the enlarged Nicene Creed was accepted; and this was likewise the course of events in Abyssinia. It is not known whether the enlarged Creed was actually used in the liturgy in Abyssinia during the fifth century; perhaps not, but it is safe to say that its use in the liturgy began early in the sixth century, and from that time to the present day it has remained practically unchanged. The Creed of the Church in Abyssinia is thus traceable on the basis of manuscript authority from its present form back to the seventeenth century, and thence to the sixteenth century by means of the printed text of Tasfa Sion. During the centuries between the time of Tasfa Sion and that of the enlarged Nicene Creed, no change of any importance was made. From that time the Creed is traceable through the first Symbol of Epiphanius to the Creed of the *John Rylands Papyrus,* and thence through the different Baptismal Creeds back to the time previous to the founding of the Church in Alexandria in the days of the great Athanasius. This sequence naturally takes no account of the question as to the precise date of the introduction of this Creed into the liturgy. If we are right in supposing that the Creed of the *John Rylands Papyrus* existed in the Ethiopic Church as well as in the mother Church of Alexandria, then in that Symbol we have the first "Nicene" Creed of the Ethiopic Church. Otherwise the first Creed of the Ethiopic Church was the enlarged form of the Nicene Creed or, what amounts to the same thing, the first Symbol of Epiphanius, which can be, at the most, only a few years later than the Creed of the *John Rylands Papyrus*. The former alternative seems to be the more likely, because the home of the *Rylands Papyrus* was Egypt.[23]

F. The Kiss of Peace, or mutual salutation of the faithful in fulfilment of Mt. 5:23-24, was formerly an actual kiss, although it is now represented in different ways in different Churches. In the present liturgy there are two declarations and a prayer preceding the ceremony of the Kiss of Peace. This forms the Lavabo. The first declaration is made by the priest, and then follows a prayer for purity. The second declaration is made by the deacon. The first invites the pure to receive the host and warns the impure against receiving it, "lest he be consumed in the fire of the godhead." The second warns anyone who is sinful to depart from the Lord. In the British Museum manuscripts only the first warning is found and there is no Lavabo prayer; the same is true of *Berlin* 36, but 414 has additional prayers similar to those in the present service. In Tasfa Sion the prayer for purity is different from that in any of the manuscripts. It reads, "Make them to be devoted to thee without hindrance, and that without ceasing they may do thy holy and blessed will. Do thou vouchsafe, O Lord, to us thy servants, and to those who shall come after us, for ever, a house of prayer, a house of purity, a house of blessing. Arise, O Lord our God, and let thine enemies be scattered, and let all those who hate thy holy and blessed name flee before thy face, and let thy people be blessed a thousand thousand-fold, and ten thousand ten thousand-fold, that they may do all thy will, through the grace and mercy and love for man of thy only Son our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, through whom, to thee, with him and with the Holy Ghost, be glory and power now and ever, world without end. Amen." In St. Mark the prayers in the Great Entrance are really prayers for purity to approach the altar, and they take the place of the prayer for purity and the declarations in the present Ethiopic service. The above prayer in Tasfa Sion appears to represent an intermediate stage of development between the Great Entrance of St. Mark and the prayer for purity or the declaration of purity, in the later liturgies. In Coptic Cyril the ceremony of the Kiss of Peace immediately follows the Creed, and in Coptic Basil it comes immediately after the prayer for the congregation. Syriac St. James and the Western liturgies have a much developed Lavabo service. In the Gallican service, immediately before the Kiss of Peace come the Diptychs, which in the Egyptian liturgies come in the middle of the Preface, in the West Syrian and Byzantine after the Epiclesis, in the East Syrian before the Epiclesis, and in the Roman and Ambrosian they are divided into two parts, one part, for the living, being placed before, and the other part, for the dead, after the Consecration. The Commemoration of Saints occurs with each part.

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[23] The following represents some of the literature on the Nicene Creed in addition to that already cited: Burn, *Introduction to the Creeds*, 1899; Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, 10 Aufl., Freiburg, 1908; Gibson, *The Three Creeds*, 1908; Hort, *Two Dissertations (II) on the Constant. Creed and the other Eastern Creeds of the Fourth Century*, 1876; Kunze, *Das nicänisch-konstantinopolitanische Symbol*, Leipzig, 1898; Loofs, *Symbolik*, Leipzig, 1902; Loofs and Harnack, *Herzog-Hauck, Realencyklopädie, passim;* Swainson, *The Nicene and Apostles' Creed*, 1875; Sanday, *Relation of the Nicene Creed to the other Eastern Creeds* (*Jr. Th. St.* I & II); see for further articles and literature, *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia*.

The ceremony of the Kiss of Peace in the present service is introduced by a series of salutations and responses followed by the prayer of the Kiss of Peace. This prayer, in the British Museum manuscripts, is ascribed to Basil. The deacon then gives direction to salute with the kiss, and the priest then continues the prayer. The British Museum manuscripts represent an identical form, as do the Berlin manuscripts. In Tasfa Sion the ceremony begins with the prayer of the Kiss of Peace; the order of the parts of the priest, deacon and people being different. The prayer of the Kiss of Peace is called *The prayer for perfect peace.* This part of the service in Tasfa Sion is as follows:

The priest shall say the prayer for perfect peace

O God, great, eternal, who didst form man free from corruption, but hast now brought to nought the power of death which came first into the world by the envy of Satan, through the coming of thine only Son our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, and by thy peace, wherein the hosts of heaven do praise thee, saying, "Glory to God in heaven, and peace on earth, his goodwill to man."

The deacon shall say

Pray for perfect peace and the love of the apostolic salutation; greet one another. Ye who do not communicate, go forth. Ye who communicate, salute one another in the fullness of your hearts. Let him who purposes to communicate keep himself free from evil.

The priest shall say

O Lord, of thy good pleasure fill our hearts with thy peace, and purify us from all pollution, and from all impurity, and from all revenge, and envy, and the remembrance of evil which is clad with death. O Lord, make us all meet to salute one another with a holy kiss, and that we may receive without condemnation and not unto death, of thy heavenly gift, to whom with the Holy Ghost be glory and power, now and ever, and world without end. Amen.

In St. Mark the deacon says "salute one another," and then follows the prayer of the Kiss of Peace. The oldest extant manuscripts of St. Mark have, following this prayer, a prayer of incense with a direction by the deacon, in a loud voice, to *stand and make the offering duly.* Then after this follows a salutation with a *prayer of oblation.* All that follows the prayer of the Kiss of Peace is out of place, and belongs to the ceremony of the Great Entrance, which, with the Enarxis, is a comparatively late addition to the original St. Mark. The Creed which immediately precedes the Anaphora, with its accompanying ritual, was not added permanently to the liturgy before the middle of the sixth century.[24]

In Coptic Cyril the Kiss of Peace is introduced by a brief salutation, followed by the long prayer of the Kiss of Peace of "the holy patriarch Severus," instead of the prayer of Basil as in the Ethiopic liturgy. Coptic Basil has the prayer of Basil instead of that of Severus.

H. The term Anaphora ('Αναφορά, the Hebrew equivalent of which is עלה, "that which *goeth up* on the altar") refers to the Eucharistic sacrifice, and hence embraces properly the Thanksgiving and Consecration and the accompanying Intercession. It has, however, been extended to include the whole of the rite, from the *Sursum Corda,* with its introductory salutations and responses, to the Dismissal. In other words, the Anaphora of the Eastern liturgies corresponds with the Western Canon of the Mass together with its Preface.

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[24] See Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland,* Kempten, 1906, p. 174.

In the Eastern liturgies there are many Anaphoras, and in the Ethiopic liturgy there are no less than fourteen. There is one standard or normal form and the others are used on special days. The normal Anaphora of the Ethiopic service has always been that of the Twelve Apostles, and is the subject of the following discussion. The title of the Anaphora varies in the different manuscripts, e. g. in *Mercer* 3 it reads: *The Anaphora of the Twelve Apostles whose prayers and praise are with us for ever and ever. Amen;* in *Br. Mus.* 545 it reads simply, *The Ḳeddāsē of the Apòstles.* The general structure of the Anaphora of Ethiopic liturgies is as follows, (1) the great Eucharistic prayer, consisting of the Preface, the Triumphal Hymn or *Sanctus* with its prayer, and the Commemoration; (2) the Consecration, consisting of the Institution, Oblation, and Invocation; (3) the Great Intercessory prayer, consisting of general intercessions and the Lord's Prayer; and (4) the Communion, consisting of the *Sancta Sanctis* with its accompanying prayers and manual acts, the Fraction, Confession, Communion, and Thanksgiving.

The Preface of the normal Ethiopic liturgy varies somewhat from the normal preface of Eastern liturgies, which as a rule may be taken as consisting of the following six sentences: "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, etc. And with thy spirit. Lift up your hearts. We lift, etc. Let us give thanks. It is meet." The present service has the following Preface with its rubrics: "The Lord be with you. With thy spirit. Give ye thanks unto our God. It is right, it is meet. Lift up your hearts. We have them unto the Lord our God." Both the British Museum and Berlin manuscripts have the same. Tasfa Sion is here thoroughly anomalous. A people's prayer connected with the ceremony of the Kiss of Peace, introducing the Anaphora, reads, "O Christ our God make us meet to greet the sanctity which is from heaven, that we may praise thee with cherubim and seraphim, and cry aloud, saying, Holy, Holy, Holy, Almighty, heaven and earth are full of the sanctity of thy glory." Then the priest says, "The Lord be with you. Holy among the holy (*three times*)" and then proceeds to the Thanksgiving prayer.

St. Mark has, "The Lord be with all. And with thy spirit. Let us lift up our hearts. We lift them up to the Lord. Let us give thanks to the Lord. It is meet and right." St. Mark is followed by the Coptic Cyril and Basil (but not Coptic Gregory) in having, "The Lord be with all" instead of the apostolic benediction. In this the Western liturgies agree with it. The first response is the same in almost all the liturgies. The second versicle and its response in the Ethiopic liturgy is the same as the third in the other Eastern rites, and the third in the Ethiopic is the same as the second in the others. This second versicle in the Ethiopic service varies somewhat from the other Egyptian services, and more so in the Armenian, where the deacon says, "Let us give thanks unto the Lord with all our hearts"; and in the Nestorian liturgies it is excessively lengthened. The second response is virtually the same in all known services with the exception of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil which have, "It is meet and right to worship the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the consubstantial and the undivided Trinity." The third versicle of the Ethiopic liturgy has a few verbal differences. The present liturgy has, "Lift up your hearts"; St. Mark has, Ἄνω ἡμῶν (or ὑμῶν) τὰς καρδίας, "Let us lift up our hearts." The Armenian is unusual, being said by the deacon, and reads: "The doors! the doors! with all wisdom and caution! Lift up your minds on high with the fear of God." The third response in the present Ethiopic liturgy reads: "We have them unto the Lord our God." The other manuscripts have, "We lift them up unto the Lord our God." St. Mark has, "We lift them up to the Lord." It is practically the same in all the great liturgies with the exception of St. James where it and the second versicle are omitted. Of the Western liturgies the Mozarabic, here as always, bears a strong resemblance to the Ethiopic rite. It however shows its affinity with the West by adding the versicle and response, "I will go unto the altar of God. To the God who giveth joy to my youth." Then follows an unusual versicle, "Your ears to the Lord," and the response, "We lift them up unto the Lord."

In Coptic Cyril the Anaphora is introduced by an unusual superscription σὺν θεῷ: τοῦ παμμακαρίου Μάρκου ἅμα τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου Κυρίλλου ἁγία ἀναφορά. In St. Mark the rubric ὁ ἱερεὺς ἄρχεται τῆς ἀναφορᾶς stands immediately before the Thanksgiving prayer; but in Greek Gregory the rubric reads, (ἀρχὴ) τῆς προσκομιδῆς. Further, in Coptic Cyril as well as in Coptic Basil and Gregory, the three-fold versicles and responses are introduced, with a versicle by the deacon and response by the people. The deacon draws back the curtain from the altar and cries three times Κύριε ἐλέησον and then says ναί κύριε, οὕτως ἐστιν. "Jesus Christ the Son of God, hear us and have mercy upon us." Then he says προσφέρειν three times with κατὰ τρόπου· στάθητε κατὰ τρόμου· εἰς ἀνατολὰς βλέψατε· πρόσχωμεν. Then the people say ἔλεος εἰρήνης θυσία αἰνέσεως.

In the Eastern Church only one Preface is found in each Anaphora, but in the West there are special Prefaces for special days, e. g. the Roman Church, which now has eleven, had originally a far larger number, of which as many as 240 have been preserved. The *Sursum Corda* was a portion of the original nucleus of the liturgy.

In all Egyptian liturgies the Thanksgiving prayer is divided into three parts. In the present Ethiopic liturgy, after the first part there follows, in true Egyptian fashion, the Intercession (Diptychs) said by the priest. The second division of the prayer is introduced by the deacon's salutation "Ye who sit, stand up," and the third part by his salutation "Look to the East." The British Museum manuscripts have a long addition to the Intercession which in the present liturgy comes immediately before the Dismissal.

It begins, "And keep them in the right faith," and ends, "O peaceful king of peace Jesus Christ, thy peace give us and confirm unto us thy peace, and forgive us our sins and make us worthy that we may go out and come in in peace." *Berlin* 36 has the same arrangement as *Mercer* 3, which goes to show that this was a possible position for a part of the Diptychs during the eighteenth century. The British Museum manuscripts omit a short prayer said by the priest, which in the present service is found in place of the omitted section of the Intercession. This prayer was undoubtedly inserted here to make up for the removal of a part of the Intercession, for it reads: "Have mercy on them, O Lord, and be propitious to our archpopes, bishops, presbyters, and deacons, and all thy Christian people." It covers the same ground as the omitted portions of the Intercessions. It is interesting, however, to note that *Berlin* 36, which also omits the same portion of the Intercession as *Mercer* 3, does not have this prayer. This is instructive, because it is just this manuscript, *Berlin* 36, which is most like *Mercer* 3, and the short prayer or *résumé* in *Mercer* 3 represents a development of the form of the service as found in *Berlin* 36, and shows a consciousness that by removing a part of the Intercessions from what was probably their original position[25] a gap was left which ought to be filled, hence the short *résumé* prayer. Otherwise the British Museum manuscripts and the Berlin manuscripts are practically identical with the present service. In Tasfa Sion the great prayer of Thanksgiving is also divided into three parts with the Diptychs inserted. The second and third parts are a little briefer and somewhat differently divided. They read:

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[25] The older British Museum manuscripts and Tasfa Sion have the omitted section in the earlier place.

¶ *The deacon shall say*
Ye who are seated arise.

¶ *The priest continues*

Was borne within her, and was made man, thy Son, manifested by the Holy Ghost.

¶ *The deacon shall say*
Look eastward.

¶ *The priest shall say*

In thy presence stand thousands of thousands of saints, angels, and archangels.

¶ *The deacon shall say*
We look.

¶ *The priest shall say*

And thy venerable beasts, with six wings, seraphim and cherubim, with two wings they cover their faces, with two wings they cover their feet, and with two wings they fly from one end of the world unto the other, evermore celebrating thy holiness and uttering thy praise; accept now this our ascription of holiness while we say, Holy, Holy, Holy.

St. Mark's Thanksgiving is likewise divided in the same way, as also the Coptic rites, though Basil is very brief and omits the Intercession. The first part of the prayer in St. Mark and Cyril is almost identical, praising God in his attributes and works. A very similar prayer in Coptic Basil follows the *Trisagion.* The formula connected with the cherubim and seraphim, which are mentioned in all the Egyptian liturgies, corresponds with that found in *Dêr Balyzeh* and *Sarapion,* and is a development of the same. Coptic Cyril is very full and has many rubrics but its groundwork agrees with Mark and Coptic Basil, as opposed to the correspondingly brief prayer in the Ethiopic liturgies. God the Father, his attributes and works, are the subjects of praise in the prayers of the two liturgies, Mark and Coptic Cyril. The Ethiopic liturgies, and, to a large extent, Coptic Basil also, differ from this type of Egyptian Thanksgiving prayer, and have the Christological form which is represented as early as the *Verona Fragments.*

The introduction of the Intercession is undoubtedly of early date; for the *Didaché,* the *Dêr Balyzeh Papyrus,* and *Sarapion* had, as an introduction at least, an Intercession for the Church and congregation in the Thanksgiving prayer. This is also the case with regard to the earliest manuscripts of Mark. The prayer for the Church and people in St. Mark begins: "Remember, O Lord, the holy and only catholic and apostolic Church throughout the whole world" and ends "and guide them (αὐτούς) into thy sacred fold. Deliver us from our iniquities; protect and defend us at all times." Now if we change αὐτούς into αὐτήν we shall have the very sentence which occurs in the same place in the *Didaché,* while the ending here is the same as that in the *Dêr Balyzeh Papyrus.* This double sentence together with the supplication for the people, "and [remember] all thy people and all the sheep of this fold," may be looked upon as the original form of the whole Intercession, within which a series of supplications was later introduced. This series of supplications in the present service, with certain variations in other Eastern liturgies, contains intercessions for the hierarchy, the apostles, the evangelists, and other saints. The supplication for the Church and congregation is removed from its original place, and introduced into the middle of the Thanksgiving. Then follow supplications for the living and dead, and for those in suffering. The supplications omitted in *Mercer* 3 and *Berlin* 36 are somewhat repetitious, which fact was probably the cause of their change of position. The supplication for the dead, which is very short in the Ethiopic liturgies, is quite long in St. Mark and is called τὰ δίπτυχα. Possibly the names of those interceded for were read. At the end of the Diptychs, St. Mark, followed by Coptic Cyril, has a prayer for the acceptance of gifts, which really belongs to the Great Entrance. The Intercessions for the patriarch and bishop, in spite of the fact that a long prayer has already been said for them, are another indication that this prayer is out of place.

The passage which introduces the Triumphal

Hymn[26] in the present Ethiopic liturgy reads: "Unto thee before whom stand thousands of thousands, and ten thousand times ten thousand, the holy angels and thine honorable creatures that have six wings, the cherubim and the seraphim." It varies slightly from the service represented by the British Museum manuscripts, which mentions the archangels with the angels, and has an introductory reference to Christ, "He was carried in the womb, was made flesh, and his birth was revealed of the Holy Ghost," which is not found in *Mercer* 3. *Berlin* 36 omits a part of this introductory passage. But on the whole this part of the service is very similar in all the Egyptian liturgies.

K. The Triumphal Hymn is found in almost all liturgies at the end of the Preface. As we proceed we must keep clearly in mind the Eastern distinction of the four great Eucharistic hymns: (1) the Angelic, which is called in the West the *Gloria in Excelsis,* and is used only by Nestorians in the liturgy; (2) the Cherubic, which is not older than the time of Justinian, and is unknown in the Western Church, not being found in the Ethiopic and Coptic liturgies, but in Chrysostom, Basil (Greek), James, Armenian and St. Mark, immediately preceding the Great Entrance; (3) the Trisagion, which the Roman Church uses on Good Friday, "Holy God, holy and mighty, holy and immortal, have mercy on us"; and (4) the Triumphal, which in the West is called the Tersanctus. The simplest form of the Triumphal hymn, without the addition of the Hosanna, exists in the Clementine Liturgy (Chap. 34) where the ministry of angels is referred to, and where Dan. 7:10 and Is. 6:3 are quoted and followed at a short interval by a reminiscence of I Cor. 2:9, which is itself based on Is. 64:4. In the words which follow the quotation of Is. 6:3, Clement says, "Let us also meet together (ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναχθέντες) therefore with our inmost hearts in concord, and with fervour (ἐκτενῶς) let us cry unto him as with one mouth (ἐξ ἑνός στόματος), that we may be partakers in his great and glorious promises."

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[26] Compare Dan. 3 & Is. 6.

In the present Ethiopic service the Triumphal Hymn is introduced with the following words, spoken by the priest, "Continually therefore as they all hallow thee and praise, with all those who hallow thee and praise thee, receive our hallowing also which we utter unto thee: Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Sabaoth; the heavens and the earth are wholly full of the holiness of thy glory. Amen."

The British Museum manuscripts have in addition the direction of the deacon, "Answer ye," to which the people respond in the words of the Triumphal Hymn. *Berlin* 36 agrees with *Mercer* 3, and *Berlin* 414 with the British Museum manuscripts. Tasfa Sion introduces the Triumphal Hymn with the words, "Holy, Holy, Holy," then the deacon directs the people to respond, and the people say: "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth. Right full are the heaven and the earth of the sanctity of thy glory."

In St. Mark, after a long introductory prayer, the priest says: "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth. Heaven and earth are full of thy glory," and then he adds in a loud voice, "Thou dost ever sanctify all men; but with all who glorify thee, receive also, O sovereign Lord, our sanctification, who with them celebrate thy praise and say." Then the people say, "Holy, Holy, Holy Lord." Coptic Cyril has the hymn in the same form, but with a fuller introductory prayer. Greek St. James has an additional clause, which Syriac St. James expands into, "Blessed is he who cometh and shall come in the name of the Lord." The liturgy of Matthew the Shepherd of the Syro-Jacobite family, is unusual in that there follows after the Triumphal Hymn the prayer, "There is one Holy Father," etc., which comes in the Manual Acts.

L. The Commemoration really forms but one Eucharistic prayer with what precedes the Triumphal Hymn. The norm of the prayer is a Thanksgiving to God for his holiness and love to man, as exemplified in the work of Christ. In the present Ethiopic liturgy the Commemoration prayer takes up the word "full" of the Triumphal Hymn: "The heavens and the earth are full of the holiness of thy glory, O our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, thine only Son. He came and was born of the Virgin that he might fulfil thy will and make a people for thee." Here the people break in with a short supplication for remembrance, and this is followed by a rubric directing the assistant priest to cense. Then the prayer continues: "He stretched out his hands to the passion, suffering to save the sufferers who trust in him; who was delivered of his own will to the passion that he might abolish death and burst the bond of Satan, and trample on Sheol and lead forth our saints, and establish a covenant which shall make known his resurrection." Then the deacon says, "Lift up your hands in the sanctuary," and this introduces the Institution. The British Museum manuscripts present a simpler form. There is no supplication by the people and the rubric about the censing is very brief, and the words, "The deacon shall say, lift up your hands in the sanctuary," are not present. In the present Ethiopic service the deacon begins the Words of Institution, but the priest repeats the essential words of the beginning, and continues. *Berlin* 36 is the same as the present service, except that it omits the repetition of the introduction of the Institution by the priest, i. e. the words "The priest shall say, He took the bread." *Berlin* 414 has the same service here as *Mercer* 3.

Tasfa Sion also has a fuller rubric in the Commemoration prayer. It reads: *Here the priest places his hand over the thurible, and expands them over the sacramental elements.* It also has a brief supplication by the people, and then the priest continues the prayer and introduces the Institution. The agreement of the Berlin manuscripts with *Mercer* 3, and the presence of a similar and more developed form in Tasfa Sion, would seem to show that the present form of the Commemoration was the more usual one. In St. Mark, however, the parallel prayer is very brief: "For truly heaven and earth are full of thy glory, through the manifestation of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ. Fill, O God, this sacrifice with thy blessing, through the inspiration of thy all-holy Spirit." Coptic Cyril is likewise brief, the first part of the prayer being almost word for word like St. Mark. It has, however, additional brief responses by the people, which are not found in St. Mark nor in any of the Ethiopic liturgies. Coptic Basil is still shorter, the Commemoration being combined with the short introduction to the Institution. It reads: "He instituted this great mystery of piety and religion, when he was about to give himself up to death for the life of the world," and the people respond "Amen."

By comparing the Commemoration of the Ethiopic liturgy with that of the *Verona Fragments,* we see how very small the change has been in this part of the service during all the intervening centuries. The Commemoration in the *Verona Fragments* reads, Gratias tibi referimus, Deus, per dilectum puerum tuum Jesum Christum, quem in ultimis temporibus misisti nobis salvatorem et redemptorem at angelum voluntatis tuae; qui est verbum tuum inseparabilem, per quem omnia fecisti et bene placitum tibi fuit; Misisti de caelo in matricem virginis, quique in utero habitus incarnatus est et filius tibi ostensus est ex spiritu sancto et virgine natus; qui voluntatem tuam complens et populum sanctum tibi adquirens extendit manus, cum pateretur, ut a passione liberaret eos, que in te crediderunt; qui cumque traderetur voluntariae passioni, ut mortem soluat et vincula diaboli dirumpat et infernum calcet et justos inluminet et terminum figat et resurrectionem manifestet.

The liturgies of Coptic Cyril and St. Mark are peculiar in that they have in the prayer of Commemoration a prayer of Invocation of the Holy Ghost. In Coptic Cyril it reads, "Fill also this thy sacrifice, O Lord, with the blessing that is from thee, through the descent upon it of thine Holy Spirit, and in blessing and in purifying purify these thy precious gifts which have been set before thy face, this bread and this cup." St. Mark reads, "Fill, O God, this sacrifice with thy blessing, through the inspiration of thy all-holy Spirit." There is thus in these liturgies a double Invocation of the Holy Ghost, first on the bread and wine and next on the body and blood of Christ, just as there is a double Oblation. Accordingly it would seem that the whole force of the change from the bread and wine to the body and blood of Christ in these liturgies would be thrown on the Words of Institution. In this way these liturgies would come nearer the Roman form.[27] The Mozarabic rite is very similar to Coptic Basil in that it does not proceed to the Words of Institution with the formula, "in the same night in which he was betrayed," but simply and abruptly; although the title of the succeeding prayer, the *Post Pridie,* would seem to show that in ancient times it agreed in this respect with the majority of the liturgies. Greek St. James has a peculiar introduction to the Institution: "In the night in which he was betrayed, or rather surrendered himself, for the life of the world"; but because it does not occur in the Syriac form of the liturgy it has been considered an interpolation.

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[27] In the *Testament of Our Lord* the second prayer in the Eucharistic Thanksgiving has all the force of an ἐπίκλησις and is best explained in the light of Coptic Cyril and St. Mark as a regular Invocation of the Holy Ghost. This is also true of *Sarapion* which has before the Words of Institution δὸς ἡμῖν πνεῦμα φωτὸς ἵνα γνῶμεν σέ κτλ, yet a full Epiclesis of the word comes later.

The διάταξις, or record of our Lord's Institution of the Eucharist, is recited in a form which is generally a combination of the New Testament accounts, with additions partly from the New Testament, partly from elsewhere. In the present Ethiopic liturgy the Institution is introduced by the words, "in the same night in which they betrayed him." Then it proceeds, "he took bread in his holy hands which were without spot and blessed." Here the priest repeats, "He took bread"; and the people say, "We believe that this is in truth; we believe." Then the priest says, "He looked up to heaven toward thee, toward his father, he gave thanks." "He blessed and brake—here comes a rubric—and he gave it to his disciples, and he said to them take eat, this bread is my body—rubric—which is broken for you for the forgiveness of sins." Then the people respond "Amen. Amen. Amen. We believe and confess; we praise thee, our Lord, and our God, that this is true we believe." "And likewise also the cup, giving thanks, he blessed it and hallowed it—rubric—and he gave it to his disciples and he said unto them take, drink, this cup is my blood—rubric—which is shed for you and for many—rubric." Then the people say, "Amen. Amen. Amen. We believe and we confess." The priest then continues with the *Anamnesis,* a very early liturgical form (Just. *Dial.* 40; Irenaeus, *Contra Haer.* IV, 29, 15): "And as often as ye do this make ye memorial of me"; to which the people respond; "we show thy death, O Lord, and thine holy resurrection; we believe thine ascension; and thy coming again; we praise thee and confess thee; we supplicate thee and confess thee, our Lord and our God." The British Museum manuscripts have about the same form of Institution, except that the present liturgy has rather fuller rubrics. *Mercer* 3 omits the phrase, "for the remission of sins," after the words over the cup; but makes an addition to the memorial where it adds "(we show forth) thy coming again." The Berlin manuscripts agree with *Mercer* 3. Tasfa Sion agrees with the present liturgy in having the reference to the second coming, and it is otherwise practically identical with it, except for minor differences in the rubrics. The second coming is also referred to in St. Mark, which in this part of the Institution is considerably developed. The expansion reads, "O sovereign and Almighty Lord, king of heaven, while we show forth the death of thine only-begotten Son, our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, and acknowledge his blessed resurrection from the dead on the third day, we do also openly declare his ascension into heaven, and his sitting on the right hand of thee, God and Father, and we await his second terrible and dreadful coming, in which he will come to judge righteously the quick and the dead, and to render to each man according to his works." Otherwise St. Mark is approximately the same as the present Ethiopic service. It contains however, a pecularity which is found in slightly different form in Coptic Cyril also and in Basil. In the words over the cup the priest says, "he took the cup of wine *mingled with water.*" Both of the Coptic rites have another peculiar addition in the phrase which occurs in the words over the cup, "he tasted" the cup, in which stress is laid upon the belief that Christ himself also communicated.[28] Otherwise the Coptic liturgies are almost identical with the others except that they have different rubrics and combine the last prayer of the Institution with the first prayer of the Invocation. Both Coptic Cyril and Basil have the reference to the second coming of Christ in the combined prayer.

Further, we can see a striking similarity between these forms of the Institution, especially that found in the Ethiopic services, and the form in the *Verona Fragments,* where we read: accipiens panem gratias tibi agens dixit: accipite, manducate; hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis confringitur. Similiter et calicem dicens: Hic est sanguis meus, qui pro vobis effunditur; quando hoc facitis, meam commemorationem facitis. The *Testament of Our Lord* has a similar form, and it is interesting to note that it has a reference to the mixing of the cup. The whole passage reads: "Taking bread, he gave it to his disciples saying, take, eat, this is my body which is broken for you for the forgiveness of sins. When ye do this, ye make my resurrection. Also the cup of wine which he mixed, he gave for a type of the blood which he shed for us." It is worthy of note that in this form, in the *Testament of Our Lord* as well as in the *Ethiopic Anaphora of Our Lord* which is derived from it, the Words of Institution relating to the cup are either omitted by mistake, or are understood. *Sarapion* has a still fuller form: ὅτι ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐν ᾗ νυκτὶ παρεδίδοτο ἔλαβεν ἄρτον καὶ ἔκλασεν καὶ ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ λέγων· Λάβετε καὶ φάγετε, τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλώμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸ ὁμοίωμα τοῦ θανάτου ποιοῦντες τὸν ἄρτον προσηνέγκαμεν καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν διὰ τῆς θυσίας ταύτης· καταλλάγηθι πᾶσιν ἡμῖν καὶ ἱλάσθητι, θεὲ τῆς ἀληθείας. καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ ἄρτος οὗτος ἐσκορπισμένος ἦν ἐπάνω τῶν ὀρέων καὶ συναχθεὶς ἐγένετο εἰς ἕν, οὕτω καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν σου ἐκκλησίαν σύναξον ἐκ παντὸς ἔθνους καὶ πάσης χώρας καὶ πάσης πόλεως καὶ κώμης καὶ οἴκου, καὶ ποίησον μίαν ζῶσαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν. προσηνέγκαμεν δὲ καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τὸ ὁμοίωμα τοῦ αἵματος, ὅτι ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς λαβὼν ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι ἔλεγε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς. Λάβετε, πίετε, τοῦτό ἐστιν ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη, ὅ ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυνόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρ-

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[28] Compare the same expression in the Anaphora of St. Basil, as translated below.

τημάτων· διὰ τοῦτο προσηνέγκαμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸ ποτήριον ὁμοίωμα αἷματος προσάγοντες.

It will be seen that the Institution goes back to the earliest times in substantially the same form as that found in the present Ethiopic service, and that this service represents the early form more nearly than any modern Oriental liturgy. Finally, three things are to be noted in connection with the ritual of the Institution: (1) the greater part of the Church asserts that our Lord raised his eyes to heaven before breaking the bread. (2) A belief is expressed in the mingling of the cup, which so far as the Western Church is concerned (to judge from such councils as third Carthage, fourth Orleans, Auxerre, etc., and from Western writers) is universal. The same was true of the Eastern Church, as is abundantly evident in the writings of her saints and in her councils. It is strange in view of this that no Western Church inserts the mixing of the cup in the canon, while in the Eastern Church it is the rule, though there are exceptions, such, for example, as the Ethiopic and others. (3) Although in both the Eastern and Western Churches the consensus of opinion of writers early and late is that Christ himself communicated as well as his disciples, there are very few of the Eastern liturgies which mention it. As we have seen, Coptic Cyril and Basil have it, and so has Coptic Gregory, but the Ethiopic liturgies have no reference to it. It is further to be noted that the Alexandrian liturgies mention only the drinking, while the Syro-Jacobite, with one exception, mention the eating only.

The liturgy of the Nestorians alone contains both particulars. The Ethiopic liturgy—as well as the other liturgies of the Alexandrian family, and those of the Constantine family—does not define the nature of the bread used, as to whether leavened or unleavened.[29] This question is of later origin, but is seen in some of the Eastern liturgies, as, for example, in the liturgy of Matthew the Shepherd, where the words occur, "He took leavened bread in which the mystery of life was hidden"; while on the contrary the Liturgy of James Baradaeus says: "He took common bread into his holy hands"; and likewise in the Liturgy of St. Marutas we read: "and change this simple (שחימא) bread, and make it that body which was sacrificed for us on the cross."

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[29] See, however, the present form of the Anaphora of St. Epiphanius, as translated below.

LECTURE VI

The Present Ethiopic Liturgy from the End of the Institution to the End of the Service

M. The Great Oblation in the present Ethiopic service forms a part of the Invocation. After briefly commemorating Christ's death and resurrection, the priest says: "we confess thee and offer unto thee this bread and this cup." All manuscripts of the Ethiopic liturgy have the same form. The words in Tasfa Sion are very indefinite, reading, "we give thee thanks that thou hast thereby made us meet to stand before thee, and to minister unto thee in the priest's office." There really does not seem to be any reference to an Oblation here. St. Mark, however, has a very definite Oblation, "O Lord our God we have placed before thee what is thine from thine own mercies"; and the same is true of the three Coptic liturgies. St. Chrysostom is very much like the liturgy of St. Mark, having "in all and for all we offer thee thine own of thine own," which form, outside of St. Mark, is restricted to the Church of Constantinople and is thought to have had its rise not earlier than Justinian.[1] The Syro-Jacobite liturgies have no formal Oblation here, but many of them have it in a prayer which comes after the Invocation.

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[1] Neale, *op. cit.* I, 489-490.

N. The Invocation, or ἐπίκλησις, is a prayer which occurs in all Eastern liturgies and originally without doubt in the Western, and followed immediately after the Words of Institution. It is that part of the service which has undergone the greatest development; and in using the term in connection with earlier and later liturgical forms, it must be understood that it is used with a corresponding change of signification. The Invocation had its origin in the Thanksgiving over the sacred meal, in order to make it the spiritual food of the faithful, in this respect being like the Jewish grace at meals.[2] Then from about the beginning of the fifth century on the Thanksgiving became more definite in that it developed into a prayer that the Holy Ghost would be sent by the Father to make the elements the body and blood of Christ. Gelasius, for example, speaks of the hallowing as accomplished by the Holy Ghost (Sancto Spiritu perficiente. See *De duabus naturis in Christo,* in Routh, *Scriptorum Eccl. opuscula,* Oxon., 1840, t. ii, 139, 15); and in the African Church a definite Epiclesis was in use in the time of Optatus.[3]

In the present Ethiopic liturgy, after the Oblation, the priest continues, "We pray thee O Lord and beseech thee, that thou wouldst send thy Holy Ghost and power upon the bread and upon the cup. May he make it for the body and blood of our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ for ever and ever." After a rubric directing a blessing to be given, the people respond "Amen; O Lord have mercy upon us, O Lord have mercy upon us, and be propitious unto us." Then the deacon says: "With all the heart we beseech the Lord our God that he vouchsafe unto us the good communion of the Holy Ghost." The people respond with a doxology. Then the priest says a prayer for the fruits of the communion, and the people respond, "Amen"; and then, according to the British Museum manuscripts, the priest says a similar prayer, after which the deacon says, "Send the grace of the Holy Ghost upon us"; and a rubric directs the priest to say it in like manner.

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[2] Justin, *Apol.*, I, 65.

[3] *Contra Parmen.*, vi; and Fulgentius, *Ad Monimum* (in Palmer's *Origines Liturg.*, Oxford, 1836, Vol. I, 138, n. V).

The British Museum manuscripts present a service which is almost identical as to the Invocation with the present liturgy, except for a few slight unimportant changes in the rubrics. The same is true of the Berlin manuscripts. Tasfa Sion has a different order and omits some of the responses and rubrics; but in essence its Invocation is the same as that of the present service. It reads:

¶ *Priest*

We ask thee, O Lord, and beseech of thee, to send the Holy Spirit and his virtue upon this bread and upon this cup, and make them the flesh and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, for ever and ever. Amen.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Grant alike to all those who shall receive thereof, that they may be to them for sanctification, and for the fullness of the Holy Ghost, and for the strengthening of faith, that they may sanctify thee through our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, with the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen.

¶ *The deacon shall say*

With all our hearts let us ask of our Lord God to bestow upon us the goodly union of the Holy Ghost.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Grant us to be joined together by the Holy Spirit, and heal us by this oblation, that we may live in thee for ever and ever. Amen. Blessed be the name of the Lord; and blessed be he who cometh in the name of the Lord; and blessed be the name of his glory. So be it. So be it. So be it.

¶ *And the people shall say in like manner*

Send forth the Holy Ghost upon us.

The Invocation in St. Mark reads: "We pray and beseech thee O good and merciful God, to send down . . . upon us also and upon this bread and upon these cups thy Holy Spirit, that by his all-powerful and divine influence he may sanctify and consecrate them and make this bread the body (*here the people say,* Amen), and this cup the blood of the new testament of the very Lord and God and Saviour and universal King Christ Jesus." After a direction given by the deacon, the priest says a prayer for the fruits of the communion, which is very similar to that of the present liturgy. Coptic Cyril has a very full prayer called *the mystery of the descent of the Holy Ghost,* which does not appear in the Ethiopic liturgies, and then begins the Epiclesis, which is almost word for word like that of St. Mark. The long section on the nature of the Paraclete is, as remarked elsewhere, comparatively late. It is interesting to note, in view of future discussion, that this liturgy has the phrase "send down . . . upon this bread and upon this cup that they may be hallowed and *changed.*"

There is abundant evidence that what is equivalent to the Epiclesis of the fifth century and later existed in early liturgical forms such as the writings of Justin (*Apol.* I, 65), Irenaeus (*Contr. Haer.* I-V), and Firmilian (*Cypr. Epist.* lxxv. 10), as well as in the Acts of John, and Origen (*c. Cels.* viii. 53). The *Verona Fragments* have a clear Epiclesis in the following prayer, "offerimus tibi panem et calicem gratias tibi agentes quia nos dignos habuisti adstare coram te et tibi ministrare. Et petimus ut mittas Spiritum tuum sanctum in oblationem sanctae ecclesiae; in unum congregans des omnibus qui percipiunt sanctis in repletionem Spiritus sancti ad confirmationem fidei in veritate, ut te laudemus et glorificemus per puerum tuum Jesum Christum, per quem tibi gloria et honor, patri et filio et spiritu sancto, in sancta ecclesia tua et nunc et in saecula saeculorum. Amen." The Ethiopic version is very similar. In the *Testament of Our Lord* the Epiclesis is very much expanded. It reads: "We offer to thee this thanksgiving, eternal Trinity, O Lord Jesus Christ, O Lord the Father, before whom all creation and every nature trembleth, fleeing into itself; O Lord the Holy Ghost, we have brought this drink and this food of thy holiness [to thee]; cause that it may be to us not for condemnation, not for reproach, not for destruction, but for the medicine and support of our spirit. Yea, O God, grant us that by thy name every thought of things displeasing to thee may flee away. Grant, O God, that every proud conception may be driven away from us by thy name, which is written within the veils of thy sanctuaries, those high ones . . . a name which when Sheol heareth it is amazed, the depth is rent, the spirits are driven away, the dragon is bruised, unbelief is cast out, disobedience is subdued, anger is appeased, envy worketh not, pride is reproved, avarice rooted out, boasting taken away, arrogance humbled, every root of bitterness destroyed. Grant, therefore, O God, to our innermost eyes to see thee, praising thee and glorifying thee, commemorating thee and serving thee, having a portion in thee alone, O Son and Word of God, who subduest all things (then intercessions). But grant that all those who partake and receive of thy holy things may be made one with thee, so that they may be filled with the Holy Ghost for the confirmation of the faith in truth that they may lift up always a doxology to thee and to thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, by whom praise and might be unto thee with thy Holy Spirit for ever and ever." It is interesting to note that this Epiclesis is addressed to the Holy Trinity, and the order of the persons in the

Trinity is striking, i.e., Son, Father, and Holy Spirit, and it shows that the liturgy is most likely earlier than the Arian controversy. It is also worthy of note that within the Epiclesis itself is found the Intercession. As seen from the above the *Testament of Our Lord* contains the early form of the Epiclesis, and, in fact, in a prayer by the bishop immediately before the Communion but after the Consecration, the phrase "send the grace of the Spirit upon us" shows that up to this point the Epiclesis is not a summoning of the divine power upon the elements. The *Anaphora of Our Lord,* a late derived form, has the developed Epiclesis, although the earlier form is retained as well, and reads: "Therefore we also, thy servants, O Lord, ask thee, O Lord, and beseech thee to send the Holy Spirit and power upon this bread and this cup, that he may make it the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, world without end. Amen."

With *Sarapion* of the fourth century the development of the Epiclesis begins. By the operation of the Logos and not of the Holy Ghost the bread becomes the body and the wine the cup of the Word. But the purpose of the Epiclesis is still the same. It reads: "O God of truth, let thy holy Word come upon this bread, that the bread may become body of the Word, and upon this cup that the cup may become blood of the truth; and make all who communicate to receive a medicine of life for the healing of every sickness and for the strengthening of all advancement and virtue, not for condemnation, O God of truth, and not for censure and reproach. For we have invoked thee, the uncreated, through the only-begotten in the Holy Spirit." In the middle of the fourth century we have for the first time, in Cyril of Jerusalem, a statement of the ideas which underlie what is technically called the Epiclesis of the Eastern liturgies. The Invocation in this instance is a prayer to God to send the Holy Spirit upon the gift, that he may make the bread the body, and the wine the blood of Christ. In the fifth century we find the fully developed form of the Epiclesis for the first time: "And thus let the chief priest supplicate over the oblation, that the Holy Spirit may come upon it and make the bread indeed the body of the Christ and the cup the blood of the Christ." It is found in *Canones Eccles.*, 265 (Lagarde, *Aegyptica*), a document which certainly belongs to the period under consideration, though this particular part of the text may have been developed by a somewhat later hand, but certainly not very much later. However, St. Mark has the developed form.

Thus we have traced the development of the Epiclesis down to the period of the great liturgies and from that time on it became firmly established. Yet there still remains in the present-day liturgies of the Eastern Church evidence of the more primitive object of the Epiclesis. Thus, we have in Greek St. James: τὸ Πνεῦμά σου τὸ πανάγιον κατάπεμψον, δέσποτα, ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα ἅγια δῶρα ταῦτα, ἵνα ἐπιφοιτῆσαν τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ ἀγαθῇ καὶ ἐνδόξῳ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ ἁγιάσῃ καὶ ποιῇ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον σῶμα ἅγιον Χριστοῦ, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον *τοῦτο αἷμα τιμιον Χριστοῦ, ἵνα γένηται πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνουσιν εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, εἰς ἁγιασμὸν ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων κτλ.*

In all Constantinopolitan rites the Epiclesis is very brief, and the rites of the Syriac family are all merely amplifications or abbreviations of the liturgy of Greek St. James. Among Western liturgies the Roman rite has after the Words of Institution only a fragment of the Invocation left with the essential clause omitted, though there are two prayers in the service which refer to the essential marks of the Consecration; the first before the Institution, asking that the oblation may become the body and blood of Christ, and the second after the Institution, asking for a blessing on those who receive. At an early date in the West much stress was laid upon the Words of Institution as constituting the form of Consecration; and this may have led to the corresponding neglect and final mutilation of the Invocation, which was undoubtedly a part of the early Roman liturgy. The Roman Epiclesis was mutilated and obscured by the rearrangement of the misplaced Intercession, which originally occurred in the earlier part of the Canon before the Consecration. In the rearrangement, the *commemoratio pro vivis* was left in its place, with the exception of the prayer for those who offered; which, with the *commemoratio pro defunctis,* was put after the Epiclesis. Then the petition for the offerers became confused with the Epiclesis and quite obscured it. Thus the Roman liturgy has no Epiclesis intact; but its ancient Epiclesis can be extracted from the obscure form of a part of the Roman Canon. It would be the Epiclesis in the early sense of the term, before the fifth century, and would read: "Supplices te rogamus, omnipotens Deus, ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum Filii tui corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus, omni benedictione caelesti et gratia repleamur, per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum." And, finally, the "quam oblationem" would contain the remnant of the later idea of the Epiclesis; and just as the *Ethiopic Church Order* and the *Testament of Our Lord,* as seen above, have alternative forms of the Epiclesis, so these two, namely, the *supplices te rogamus* and the *quam oblationem,* may be taken as remnants of a double Epiclesis, or one Epiclesis in the double use of the term.

We have seen that originally the purport of the Invocation was the request for a blessing; but that gradually it became a prayer that through the Logos or the Holy Spirit the elements might become the body and blood of Christ. Thus, in Justin and Irenaeus, as noted above, as also in the Alexandrian writers, Clement, Origen, and Athanasius, there is a tendency to attribute to the Logos the operative power, by which the elements became the body and blood of Christ. The same is true of the liturgy of *Sarapion,* as shown above. In certain East Syrian writers there are traces of the same idea.[4] But elsewhere the Holy Spirit was considered the power by which the Consecration was brought about. This is true of all the great liturgies. It is interesting to note that while the English liturgy has no Invocation at all, the Scottish rite invokes the Holy Spirit and the American invokes both the Word and the Holy Spirit.

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[4] E. Bishop, in Connolly's *Narsai,* pp. 155f.

We must now consider the "form" of Consecration, and at the outset it will be wise to keep in mind the fact that in the earliest period of which we have any evidence no attempt was made to formulate a theory as to the exact form of words or the moment of Consecration. The problem as to the formula of Consecration, namely, whether the Consecration of the elements was effected (1) by Words of Institution, (2) by the words of Invocation, (3) by both, or (4) by repetition of the Lord's Prayer, as suggested by Gregory the Great, was a question which arose as early as 1350 but was not pressed till the Council of Florence when it was brought forward by John Turrecremata who said, "To pray after the Words of Institution," as the Eastern Church does, "that the elements may become the body and blood of Christ is to deny any transmuting efficacy in our Lord's own words." In reply to this the Greeks protested that they regarded most highly, in fact quite as highly as Occidentals did, the Words of Institution. The controversy continued, and Mark of Ephesus was asked by the Emperor at the request of many prelates for his decision. Mark wrote a tract showing that the validity of the Eucharist depends upon the Words of Invocation as much as upon those of Institution. Some dispute followed, but Pope Eugenius with great skill and moderation put an end to it, and there it has rested officially.

The fourth of the above suggested modes of Consecration may be rejected at once because of the fact that the Lord's Prayer does not seem originally to have formed a part of the Eucharistic service. In some of the New Testament passages the Words of Institution, in the case of the cup, come *after* the disciples had communicated; and the Consecration is consistently represented as effected by a thanksgiving,[5] the words of which are not recorded, but which probably took the form of a prayer (cf. I Cor. 10:16). According to the New Testament, then, the second suggestion is the most probable. In addition we have in support of this the Fathers of the second and third centuries, Justin Martyr (*Apol.,* 66), Irenaeus (*Contr. Haeres.* iv, 18, 5; v, 2, 3; i, 13, 2), Clement of Alexandria (*Paedag.* ii, 2, 32), Tertullian (*Adv. Marcion.* 4, 40), Hippolytus (*Philosophumena,* 6, 39), Firmilian (Cyprian, *Ep.* 75, 10), and likewise Origen (*Contr. Cels.* 8, 33; *in I Cor.* 7:5; *in Matt.* 11, 14) who favour the second or possibly the third. The same is true of the Fathers of the fourth century, Cyril of Jerusalem (*Cat. Myst.* 1, 7; 3, 3; 5, 7), Athanasius (*Catena* of Nicetas on Luke, Bishop, *Moment of Consecration,* 156), Chrysostom (*De Sacerd.* 3, 4; 6, 4; *De Coemeter. Appel.* 3; *De Pente-*

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[5] Or it is not impossible that in the Apostolic age it was believed that "consecration" was effected by breaking of bread and pouring out of wine; but this belief, if it existed, has left no trace on later Eucharistic doctrine.

cost. 1, 4; *Hom. in Joan.* 45), Peter, bishop of Alexandria (*apud* Theodoret, *HE* iv, 22, 7), Theophilus of Alexandria (*Paschal Epistle,* Jerome, *Ep.* 98, 13), Jerome (*Ep.* 146, 1; *ad Evang.*), Optatus (*De Schism. Donat.* 6, 1), and Ephrem Syrus (Bishop, *Moment of Consecration,* 147-149). While Gregory of Nyssa (*In Laud. frat. Bas; Sermon on the Bapt. of Christ; Oratio Catech.* 37) favours the second or third, Ambrose (*De Spirit. Sanct.* iii, 16, 112; *De Fide* iv, 10, 124; *De Mysteriis* 9, 50; 9, 52, 54; *De Ben. Patr.* 9, 38) favours the third, and Basil (*On the Holy Ghost* 27, 66) the same. All of these represent the fourth century. It will thus be seen that these Fathers adopt the idea that the Words of Institution alone are sufficient. The early liturgies of *Sarapion* and the *A. C.* favour the Invocation, or at most the Invocation and Institution combined, but never the Institution alone. As we have seen above, some of the liturgies contain a double Invocation, one before and one after the Words of Institution. This has been claimed for the Roman liturgy. All Eastern liturgies have the Invocation, and all but four have the Words of Institution—Dionysius Bar Salib, St. Peter the Second, St. Xystus and the East Syrian liturgy of Addai and Mari—but even these have them in emended copies following the Invocation. In these four liturgies the Words of Institution were omitted "because the compilers of the forms in which it is wanting considered the whole transmuting efficacy to be in the Invocation of the Holy Ghost."[6] While the Western Church regards the Words of Institution as the great essential, it is nevertheless not an article of faith to believe that the Consecration is performed by them rather than by the whole ceremony of the Mass. On the other hand the Orthodox Church does not teach that the Consecration is absolutely and solely effected by the Invocation. The sense of the Orthodox Church may rather be thus expressed, in the words of Neale,[7] "the bread and wine offered on the altar are transmuted into the body and blood of Christ by the Words of Institution, and by the Invocation by the Church of the Holy Ghost; and if either of these things be wanting, the Eucharist, so far forth as the Orthodox Eastern Church is concerned, is not valid," and as he further shows, such is the teaching of the modern Eastern Church.

Together with the idea of "type" in connection with the Consecration, we meet the word "changed" or "converted" (*μεταβάλλειν*) used to indicate the effect produced by the Consecration. Cyril of Jerusalem (*Cat.* xxii, 2) illustrates this "change" from the turning of the water into wine at Cana of Galilee, and he attributes it to the Holy Ghost. Henceforth the idea expressed by the word "change" grew in the East. Ambrose is the first in the West to preach the Eastern doctrine. With a few exceptions, namely, Coptic Cyril, Chrysostom, the Armenian, and Dioscorus of Cardou,[8] the new terminology found no expression in the liturgical formulae of the East; and, in the West, only in Gallican sources; although the indirect influence of the new development was considerable and finally resulted in the doctrine of transubstantiation.

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[6] Neale, *op. cit.* I, 484.

[7] Neale, *op. cit.*, 496.

The presence of the Epiclesis in the American liturgy is due to the influence of Bishop Seabury of Connecticut, our first American bishop, who had promised his consecrators, Bishop Kilgour, Bishop Petrie, and Bishop Skinner of the Church in Scotland, that he would use his influence to have the Scottish rite introduced into the American Church. This he succeeded in doing, for at the convention of the Church in 1789, over which he and Bishop White presided, the most essential parts of the Scottish office were incorporated into the office for Holy Communion in the American Prayer Book. In the American service as in most of the Eastern rites, there is no reference to any doctrine of transubstantiation, but the priest prays that those who receive "may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood." There is no attempt made to solve the mystery of the real presence. However, the *prayer of the Mystery,* in the Ethiopic liturgy, shows that the doctrine of "change" is not unknown to that Church; for while only the expression "may he *make* it" occurs in the Invocation, in the prayer of the Mystery there are the words: "bless the bread and hallow the cup, and cleanse them both and *change* the bread; let it become thy pure body, and what is mingled with this cup thy precious blood." Yet, not one of the fourteen Anaphoras used at the present time in the Ethiopic Church seems to have the idea of "change" in the Invocation where we should expect it. They all read "make" or "make into," with the exception of the Anaphora of St. Athanasius, which has an unusual expression in the Invocation. It reads: "His body is *united* with the bread and his blood is poured out in this cup." It seems, therefore, as far as we can judge from the liturgy, that the Ethiopic Church did not lay any particular stress upon the idea of transubstantiation in the Eucharist. However, the words most commonly used, i. e. "make" and "make into," may easily be interpreted as capable of sustaining the idea of transubstantiation. This is of course a question for the theologian.

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[8] There is a strange phrase in Coptic Gregory in the Words of Institution. It begins, "thou Lord with thy voice alone *transmute* these oblations."

The basic plan of a complete Consecration seems to be, (1) the recitation by the priest of the narrative and Words of Institution, as the authority on which he acts, (2) the memorial of Christ's death and resurrection, in fulfilment of Christ's command to "do this in remembrance of me," (3) the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, whom God the Father will send to make the elements the body and blood of God the Son to those who receive them.

Finally, the Ethiopic Words of Institution, "this *bread* is my body which is broken for you for the forgiveness of sins," has been taken by some as a proof that the Ethiopic Church does not believe in the real presence. In order to show just what the present Ethiopic Church teaches on this point, I here give a translation of the Words of Institution in all the Anaphoras used at the present time by that Church. The manuscript from which the translation is made is *Mercer* 3.

Anaphora of our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.[9]

In the same night in which they betrayed him, he took bread into his holy, blessed, and pure hands which are without stain; giving thanks, he blessed, and brake, and gave to his disciples, saying: "Take, eat, this bread is my body which is broken for you for the remission of sins, and as often as ye do this, make ye memorial of me." And likewise after thou didst mingle wine in the cup, thou didst give thanks, thou didst bless and sanctify, and didst give to them thy very blood, which in truth was shed for our sins.[97]

Anaphora of the Blessed Virgin Mary

Then Jesus Christ took bread into his holy hands, blessed, pure, and without spot; looking up towards heaven, to thee, his Father, he interceded for his mother [and his father?] recommending to deliver them from all evil. He the blessed one blessed, he the holy one brake, and gave to his disciples, and he said to them: "Take, eat, this bread is my body, which is broken for you, for the redemption of the whole world." Likewise, receiving the cup after they had eaten, he said: "Take, drink, from the cup, my blood which the spear poured out for you, and whenever ye do this ye make memorial of me, and commemorate my death and resurrection."[98]

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[9] The rubrics and responses are not given. The text is given beginning with No. 97, p. 382ff. Corrections in the text are based on *Br. Mus. Or.* 545.

Anaphora of St. John the Evangelist

He took the bread into his holy and blessed hands, the dowry of thy bride and the bill of divorce of the synagogue which thou hast repudiated; giving thanks, he blessed, and brake, and gave to his disciples, and he said to them: "This bread is my body, whosoever eats of it shall not die, and whosoever receives it shall not perish. Take, eat of it all of you." Likewise, giving thanks over the cup he said: "This is the chalice of my blood of the new testament; take, drink of it all of you, a wonderful token for all who adore it at the cross, which was marked with his blood and signed with the cross and stamped with the sign which is for eternal life and for the remission of sins. So ye will show forth my memorial when ye come together."[99]

Anaphora of St. John Chrysostom

He took the bread in his holy, and pure, and blessed hands, which are without stain, he looked up to heaven, towards thee his Father, Lord, and God Almighty; and above all, giving thanks, he blessed and brake and gave to his disciples, and said to them:

"This is my body, true food of righteousness, whoever eats of it shall have eternal life. Take, eat of it all of you."

In like manner he mixed the cup of water and wine, and giving thanks, he blessed, and sanctified, and gave to them, and he said to them: "This is my blood, drink of true life, whoever drinks of it shall live forever. Take, drink of it all of you. It is a sign for you and for your posterity, and thus make memorial of me till I come. And whenever ye come together in my name, ye shall announce my death, my resurrection, and my ascension into heaven." [100]

Anaphora of St. Gregory of Alexandria

He took the bread in his hands, which were pierced with the nails, and with which our Father Adam was moulded, immaculate, without sin, pure, without fault. Giving thanks, he blessed, and brake it, and gave to his disciples, and said to them: "Take, eat, this bread is my body, bread of righteousness, in truth, my body which is given for the remission of all the world; whosoever eats of it shall live for ever and ever." Likewise he looked upon the cup, the water of life with wine, giving thanks, he blessed, and sanctified it, and gave it to his disciples, and said to them: "Take, drink, this cup is my blood, drink of true life. Whoever drinks of it shall live for ever. Take, drink of it all of you, that it may be to you for life and for redemption." [101]

Anaphora of the 318 Fathers

And happening upon them, he showed them the witness of the mystery of the oblation. He took the bread in their presence, he blessed and brake, and said to them: "Take, eat, this bread is my body which is broken for you for the remission of sins." Likewise, he blessed the cup and said: "Take, drink, this cup is my blood which is poured out for you for the remission of sins." [102]

Anaphora of St. Epiphanius

In that night, on the eve of the fifth feast, when the sixth feast was dawning, when he was resting in the house of Lazarus, his friend, he took into his hands unleavened bread of which they brought him for supper; giving thanks, he blessed, and brake, and gave to his disciples, and he said to them: "Take, eat, this bread is my body which is broken for you." Likewise, he mixed the chalice with water and wine; giving thanks, he blessed, and sanctified, and gave to his apostles, and said to them: "Take, drink, this cup is my blood which is poured out for you. Let this rite be to you in commemoration of my death and of my resurrection." [103]

Anaphora of St. Dioscorus

In the same night in which they betrayed him, he took bread in his hands, holy, pure, which are without stain, he looked up towards heaven, to thee his Father; giving thanks, he blessed, and brake, and gave it to his pure disciples and holy apostles, and he said to them: "Take, eat, this bread is my body which is broken for you for the remission of sins." Likewise, the cup after they had eaten, he mixed water and wine; giving thanks, he blessed and sanctified, and gave to his pure apostles and holy disciples, and he said to them: "Take, drink, this cup is my blood which is poured out for you for the remission of sins." [104]

Anaphora of St. James of Serug

Thou tookest the bread in thy holy hands that thou mightest give to thy pure disciples. Thou who then didst bless, bless now this bread. Thou who then didst break, break now this bread. Likewise, thou didst mix the cup, the wine and water, to give to thy pure apostles. Thou who then didst sanctify, sanctify now this cup; thou who then didst present, present now this cup; thou who then didst join, join now this bread with this cup; may they be thy body and thy blood.[105]

Anaphora of St. Basil

He took the bread into his hands, holy, and pure, which are without stain, beautiful and life-giving; he looked up into heaven, to thee his Father, Lord God almighty; giving thanks, he blessed, and brake,[107] and gave to his holy disciples and pure apostles, and he said to them: "Take, eat of it all of you, this bread is my body, which is broken for you for the remission of sins. Thus make a memorial of me." Likewise, also the cup after they had eaten, he mixed water and wine; giving thanks, he blessed and sanctified, he tasted and gave to his holy disciples and pure apostles, and he said to them: "Take, drink of it all of you, this cup is my blood which is poured out for you for the remission of sins, thus make a memorial of me. As often as ye drink this cup ye show forth my death and believe in my resurrection, and make a memorial of me until I return."[106]

Anaphora of St. Athanasius

Thou didst take the bread in their presence; giving thanks, thou didst bless, and break, and didst give to them, saying: "Take, eat, this bread is my body from which nothing is separated." And likewise the cup thou didst mix water and wine; giving thanks, thou didst bless and sanctify and give to them saying: "Take, drink, this cup is my blood from which nothing is separated. As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye show forth my death and my resurrection, and my ascension, and my second coming in glory."[108]

Anaphora of St. Cyril

In the same night in which they betrayed him, he took bread in his holy, and blessed, and pure hands, without stain. He looked up towards heaven, towards thee his Father; giving thanks, he blessed, and brake, and said: "Take, eat, this is my body which is broken for you and given for the redemption of the whole world for the remission of sins." Likewise, after they had eaten, he took the cup; giving thanks, he blessed, and sanctified, and said to his disciples: "Take, drink, this cup is my blood of the new testament which is poured out for you for the redemption of the whole world, that sins may be remitted." [109]

Anaphora of St. Gregory the Armenian

Join, O Lord, our humanity with thy divinity, thy greatness with our humility and our humility with thy greatness, that we may offer to thee this sacrifice which thou didst give to thy disciples, saying: "Take, eat, this bread is my body, which was broken for you and given for remission of sins and for eternal life." Likewise, over the cup, thou didst give to them, saying: "Take, drink, this cup is my blood which was poured out for you and given for the remission of sins and for eternal life. Thus do as my memorial." And thou didst say to them: "As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup ye do show forth my death and believe in my resurrection, while ye eat therefore, ye make my memorial in praise and in hymns, in an act of thanksgiving and in exultation." [110]

The foregoing Words of Institution of the thirteen other Anaphoras of the present Ethiopic liturgy, together with the Words of Institution of the standard Anaphora of the Apostles, speak for themselves. The contention that the words of the normal Anaphora ("this *bread* is my body") deny the real presence, was made without knowledge of the complete Ethiopic liturgy. For example, the Anaphora of St.

Chrysostom has the phrase "this is my body," a sentence which alone is sufficient to destroy the validity of the contention. The "form" of Words of Institution in the present Ethiopic liturgy is either, "this bread is my body," or "this is my body"; and "this cup is my blood," or "this is my blood." In fact, so far as the "form" of the Words of Institution is concerned, the Ethiopic Church has always believed in the real presence. This point is clearly proved for the older forms of the liturgy by Chaîne in his article, *La consécration et l'épiclèse dans le Missel éthiopien* (Bessarione, Fasc. 110). Nor has the present form of the liturgy departed from the older "form" in the Words of Institution. Finally Greek St. Mark, or in other words, the oldest complete Ethiopic liturgy, has the words, "this is my body" and "this is my blood"; further, the oldest fragmentary liturgies of Ethiopia and Egypt have the same "form"; the *Testament of Our Lord,* for example, which represents the century in which the Ethiopic Church was founded, has the "form," "this is my body"; the *Sacramentary of Sarapion* of an earlier part of the same century has the "form," "this is my body," "this is the new covenant which (ὅ) is my blood"; the *Ethiopic Church Order* of the end of the third century, shortly before the Ethiopic Church was founded, has "this is my body," "this is my blood"; and the *Dêr Balyzeh Papyrus* which represents the second century has the same; and so from the earliest times to the present day the Ethiopic liturgy has witnessed to the Church's belief in the doctrine of the real presence.

O. *The Intercession for Living and Dead.* The position of the Intercession varies; there being as many as four places where it is found in the different liturgies, (1) between the Invocation and the Lord's Prayer, (2) before the Institution, (3) partly before and partly following the Institution, and (4) between the Institution and the Invocation. The present Ethiopic liturgy has the Intercession divided, part coming before the Institution and part after. This is true of all the manuscripts of Ethiopic liturgies, except that in the present service a much larger proportion of the Intercession is placed after the Institution.

There is an important difference here between the present Ethiopic liturgy and that represented by all other manuscripts. The service in all the others has the ceremony of the Lord's Prayer immediately after the Invocation. This ceremony does not occur in the present service, nor is it to be found in Tasfa Sion. Although the present service is peculiar in not having the Lord's Prayer and its accompanying prayers at this point, it compensates to a certain extent by having it in petitional form after the Communion. Its position, it may be added, varies in different services, in some preceding the Fraction and in others following it, or else coming after the Communion (compare its position in the Anglican liturgy). The Mozarabic rite is unique in having a proper Preface for the Lord's Prayer.[10] The question has often been raised as to whether the Lord's Prayer is essential to a valid Eucharist. This is due to the fact that it forms a part of all developed liturgies and is associated very closely with the life of our Lord. It must be remembered, however, that it is not found in the Clementine liturgy, nor is it found in any of the liturgical forms in use before the great liturgies were developed, unless it be proved that it was understood and that its familiarity to everyone resulted in its not being written. To judge from extant forms of early liturgical fragments, it does seem not to have formed a necessary part of the original liturgy. In the present Ethiopic liturgy, following immediately on the Invocation there is a series of prayers including the Inclination (which is found in all the other manuscripts), leading up to the Intercession for the living and dead. After two short prayers, the first of which is called the prayer of the Fraction, there comes an extended inscription beginning "the host of the angels of the Saviour of the world, *io, io, io,* stand before the Saviour of the world"; and after that comes the Inclination.

In all other manuscripts of the Ethiopic liturgy, following the Invocation comes a series of salutations and responses; and then after a short prayer comes the Lord's Prayer, followed by another short prayer for the effectual reception of the mysteries. Then comes the same ascription, followed by the Inclination.

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[10] For further discussion of the position of the Lord's Prayer, see Neale, *op. cit.* I, 512; Atchley, *Ordo Romanus Primus,* 102.

The Inclination in the present Ethiopic service begins with a direction given by the deacon, "Standing bow down your head the while." Then follows the prayer of Inclination with the deacon's response, "Worship the Lord with fear"; to which the people answer, "Before thee O Lord we worship and thee we glorify." Then comes the prayer of penitence, or the Intercession for the living and dead. The Inclinations in all the other Ethiopic manuscripts are almost word for word like the present liturgy, except that, as noted before, a larger portion of the Intercession is transferred from its position before the Institution to its present place in *Mercer* 3.

As noted above, Tasfa Sion omits the Lord's Prayer, and has following the Invocation only one prayer, the prayer of the Fraction, similar to the first of the two short prayers in the present service. Then comes the deacon's direction, "Ye who stand bow down your heads," after which follows a prayer of reception, differing from that in the manuscripts; and after this comes the ascription, "The hosts of the angels of the Saviour of the world." It will be seen that the deacon's direction just quoted has changed its position, and no prayer of Inclination follows here, thus accounting for the change in the position of the deacon's direction; but instead there comes the deacon's salutation, "Worship the Lord with fear," which immediately introduces the prayer of penitence or Intercession.

After the Invocation, St. Mark has a short salutation by the priest, "Peace be to all"; after which the deacon says, "Pray." Then follows a long prayer for effectual reception, said for the most part in silence by the priest. Then the people say the Lord's Prayer, after which follows a short prayer not found in any of the manuscripts nor in Tasfa Sion. St. Mark omits the ascription, "the hosts of the angels of the Saviour of the world," and proceeds with the Inclination, which is introduced by the priest's salutation, "Peace be to all," and the deacon's direction, "Bow your heads to the Lord," to which the people respond, "Thou, Lord." Then follows the prayer of Inclination. Instead of the Intercession St. Mark, following the priest's salutation and the deacon's direction, has a prayer for the acceptance of the worship, to which the people respond with a three-fold Κύριε ἐλέησον. This may be the remnant of an earlier Intercession at this point.

In Coptic Cyril the Invocation is followed by a salutation and response, and also by a "prayer of Our Father who art in heaven," which corresponds with the prayer of Fraction in the Ethiopic liturgies with the exception of the present one. Then follows a series of prayers, salutations, and responses, not found in any of the Ethiopic liturgies, belonging to the ceremony of the Consignation and Lord's Prayer; after which the people say the Lord's Prayer. This is followed by another prayer of "Our Father who art in heaven." Then comes the Inclination, with long prayers not found in the Ethiopic rite. Coptic Basil begins this part of the service with a long series of Intercessions, followed by the reading of the Diptychs, and a prayer in preparation for the Lord's Prayer. Then follows the ceremony of Consignation and Fraction, and the recitation of the Lord's Prayer with its accompanying prayer. Here comes the ceremony of the Inclination which is quite elaborate.

The position of an Intercession at this point hinted at in St. Mark by the three-fold Κύριε ἐλέησον is found as early as *Sarapion* and the *Testament of Our Lord,* where we find the earliest extant Intercessions. *Sarapion's* Intercession reads, *παρακαλοῦμεν δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν κεκοιμημένων, ὧν ἐστιν καί ἡ ἀνάμνησις.... (μετὰ τὴν ὑποβολὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων)· ἁγίασον τὰς ψυχὰς ταύτας· σὺ γὰρ πάσας γινώσκεις. ἁγίασον πάσας τὰς ἐν Κυρίῳ κοιμηθείσας. καὶ συγκαταρίθμησον πάσαις ταῖς ἁγίαις σου δυνάμεσιν καὶ δὸς αὐτοῖς τόπον καὶ μονὴν ἐν τῇ βασιλειᾳ σου· δέξαι δὲ καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ εὐλόγησον τοὺς προσενεγκόντας τὰ πρόσφορα καὶ τὰς εὐχαριστίας, καὶ χάρισαι ὑγείαν καὶ ὁλοκληρίαν καὶ εὐθυμίαν καὶ πᾶσαν προκοπὴν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ὅλῳ τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι. ὥσπερ ἦν καὶ ἐστὶν καὶ ἔσται εἰς γενεὰς γενεῶν καὶ τοὺς σύμπαντας αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.* That of the *Testament of Our Lord* reads, "Sustain unto the end those who have gifts of revelations. Confirm those who have a gift of healing. Make those courageous who have the power of tongues. Keep those who have the word of doctrine upright. Care for those who do thy will alway. Visit the widows. Help the orphans. Remember those who have fallen asleep in the faith.

And grant unto us an inheritance with thy saints, and bestow upon us the power to please thee as they also pleased thee. Feed the people in uprightness; and sanctify us all, O God." The Intercession as found in the liturgy of *Sarapion* is the most complete; there are prayers for the living and for the dead, as well as for the spiritual happiness of the Church. It comes immediately after the Epiclesis. It is noticeable that neither in *Sarapion* nor yet in the *Testament of Our Lord* are there any prayers for the Emperor. Cyril of Jerusalem, as well as Justin and Tertullian, tell us of Intercessions for the Emperor. These prayers for the Emperor, referred to by Justin and Tertullian, probably belong to the "Morning Service" which non-Christians could attend, while those described by Cyril show the use of the Church at the time when the Emperors were Christian. This would account for the fact that when the "Morning Service" became the Pro-anaphora of the liturgy, there were two sets of Intercessions, one in the Pro-anaphora and the other in the Anaphora. Later, in many liturgies the Intercessions of the Pro-anaphora were drawn into the Anaphora, and an attempt was made to unite them, but without success; while in the liturgies of Antiochian origin the Intercessions remain in their original places.

P. Q. Immediate preparation of the Communicants and Manual Acts. In the present Ethiopic service this part of the liturgy is begun by the deacon who says, "Give we heed," to which the priest responds, "Holiness to the holies." This exclamation is the *Sancta Sanctis* which is one of the most ancient parts of the liturgy. The priest or assistant priest then says, "One is the holy Father, one is the holy Son and one is the Holy Ghost." Then follows a short series of salutations, before the dipping and signing. Then the deacon bids to prayer, "Ye who are in penitence bow down your head," and this is followed by a prayer for the forgiveness of the penitents. The British Museum manuscripts have practically the same service, as also the Berlin manuscripts. Tasfa Sion has practically the same, except that it omits the final prayer for forgiveness. St. Mark is very brief in this part of the service. The priest says aloud, "Holy things for the holy," to which the people respond, "One Father holy, one Son holy, one Spirit holy, in the unity of the Holy Spirit. Amen." The Deacon then says, "For salvation and help." Coptic Cyril here is very brief, having only the *Sancta Sanctis* and "One is the holy Father" etc., and a short salutation and response. Coptic Basil is very similar, except that the order is slightly different.

This part of the service, the preparation of the Communicants and Manual acts, has been well preserved; for we find in the *Ethiopic Church Order,* of the end of the third century, the following salutations and responses which speak for themselves,

¶ ***And the deacon shall say***
Let us attend.

¶ *And the bishop shall say*

Holiness to the holies.

¶ *And the people shall say*

One is the holy Father, one is the holy Son, one is the Holy Spirit.

¶ *And the bishop shall say*

The Lord [be] with you all.

¶ *And the people shall say*

With thy spirit.

Sarapion has at this point a prayer of Fraction with its rubric, but no allusion to the *Sancta Sanctis.* The rubric and prayer are as follows:

¶ *After the prayer the Fraction, and in the Fraction a prayer*

Count us worthy of this communion also, O God of truth, and make our bodies to contain purity, and our souls prudence and knowledge. And make us wise, O God of compassion, by the participation in the body and blood, because through thine only-begotten to thee [is] the glory and strength in Holy Spirit, now and for all the ages of the ages. Amen.

In the *Testament of Our Lord* the *Sancta Sanctis* is found in a very unusual place, following the *Sursum Corda.* The *Sancta Sanctis* is found in the *A. C.*, immediately before the Communion, besides being mentioned in early writings, e. g. Chrysostom (*in Heb.* xvii, 5). St. Cyril of Jerusalem tells us that immediately after the Lord's Prayer came τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, and the people reply, εἷς ἅγιος εἷς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.

R. Communion. This part of the service begins in the present Ethiopic rite with a series of salutations and responses. Then follows a declaration by the priest that the consecrated bread is the body of Christ and the consecrated wine is the blood of Christ; to which the people respond in both cases "Amen." Then after another similar declaration, the priest pronounces three declarations of belief: (1) as to the true manhood of Christ, (2) that his god-head was not derived from his manhood, and (3) as to the real presence; and the people respond "Amen." Then follows a "prayer after placing the oblation." Immediately after that comes the administration, as given in the *Ḳeddāsē of Our Lord,* which reads, "The body of our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ which is of the Holy Ghost, to hallow body, soul, and spirit"; then the words as given in the *Ḳeddāsē of the Apostles:* "The bread of life which came down from heaven, the body of Christ"; and finally the words of administration as found in the *Ḳeddāsē of the Elders:* "The holy body of Emmanuel, our very God, which he took of the lady of us all." The Communicant responds "Amen," and then follows a prayer which the Communicant says as he receives the host in his mouth. Then follows a long confession of faith in the Trinity, going into much detail, a prayer not found in any other liturgy. Then follow the words of administration and two prayers in secret. After the priest and deacon have received, the deacon says, "Pray ye for us and for all Christians who bid us make mention of them in the peace; and in the love of Jesus Christ praise ye and sing." The present manuscript (*Mercer* 3) does not indicate what is to be sung, but the British Museum manuscripts give the first line of the hymn: "Precious is the praise of the psalm." Then the priest, as he goes out, says the prayer beginning: "Those whom thou hast called." After the people have received they say: "Lord eternal light of life thou hast given us, O Lord, thy servants and thine handmaids strength and protection during the days and nights past, keeping in peace; bless on the day that now is and on those that shall come hereafter."

The service represented by the British Museum manuscripts is practically the same as the present Ethiopic service, with slight rubrical differences, till near the end of the prayer beginning, "Behold thy Son." Then the order is quite different and the rubrics are more numerous. First comes one which reads: *And then he shall sign therewith upon the body and blood, to wit with the sign of the cross of the body saying:* Blessed be the Lord God for ever. Amen." Then follows another rubric: *And he shall lay it on the blood, to wit the sign of the cross of the body. While he receives the host he shall say:* O my Lord Jesus Christ, let not this thy mystery bring guilt upon me; rather let it be for the purifying of my soul and body." All this is not in the present Ethiopic liturgy. Then follows the prayer which the deacon says, after the priest and deacon have received, and the prayer which the priest says as he goes out (to administer). Then he administers and the words of the same three Anaphoras are given. At this point comes the prayer which the Communicant says when he receives the host in his mouth. All this is in the present Ethiopic service, only in a different order. Then follows a prayer which the Communicant says when he receives the wine. This is not in the present Ethiopic service and seems superfluous, since the preceding prayer refers to both body and blood. Then the deacon says: "This is the cup of life which came down from heaven; this is the blood of Christ"; to which the people respond "Amen and Amen." This last versicle and response is not in the present Ethiopic service—which is rather a strange omission—and perhaps it ought to be supplied in the text, in spite of the fact that a similar sentence is found in the preparatory part of the Communion section. The sentence, it seems, should be said at the moment when the cup is administered. Then there follows a rubric, *And while they receive the water they shall say this:* "Glory be to the Lord who hath given us the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, world without end. Amen and Amen; so be it, so be it." This also is not found in *Mercer* 3. Finally comes the prayer after the people have received, which is the same, with the exception of a fuller doxology, as in the present Ethiopic service. The British Museum manuscripts have not the long prayer of faith. The Berlin manuscripts are practically the same as the British Museum manuscripts in this part of the service.

In Tasfa Sion the section preparatory to the administration of the elements is very similar to the present Ethiopic service, only considerably abbreviated. The administration is very simple. After the priest has administered the body of Christ to himself, he administers it to the people, saying: "This is the bread of life which came down from heaven, the precious body of Immanuel our very God." The recipients reply, "Amen." Then the deacon administers the cup, saying: "This is the cup of life which hath come down from heaven, the precious blood of Christ." The recipients say "Amen and Amen." The deacon then says the prayer: "Pray for us and for all Christian people" etc., which agrees with the present Ethiopic service. Then the priest says, "To those, O Lord, whom thou hast called," which also agrees with the present Ethiopic service in contrast to that represented by the British Museum manuscripts. Then the priest says the final prayer which is similar to that in the manuscripts.

An interesting Ethiopic Church Order of the fifteenth century is that of Zar'a-Jacob, a renowned king of Abyssinia. It was published by Dillmann[11] in 1884, and contains an account of the administration of the elements. After a rubric there follows a prayer which is to be sung if the Communicants have not the host in their mouth, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Trinity unspeakable, grant me that I may receive unto life the body without condemnation etc."[12]

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[11] A. Dillmann, *Ueber die Regierung, insbesondere die Kirchenordnung des Königs Zar'a-Jacob*, Abh. der Kgl. Ak. der Wiss. in Berlin, 1884, II Abh. der philos.-Hist. Klasse, p. 53f.

In St. Mark, after a rubric of consignation, the priest says in a loud voice: "The Lord be with all," and then he breaks the bread saying, "Praise ye God." Then he divides it among those present saying, "The Lord will bless and help you through his great [mercy]." The priest then says, "Command," to which the clergy reply, "The Holy Ghost commands and sanctifies." Then the priest says, "Lo they are sanctified and consecrated," and the clergy reply, "one Father holy [thrice]." After a short salutation, the priest says, "The Lord himself hath blessed it." Then the priest partakes and says, "According to thy loving-kindness" etc., or, "As the hart panteth after the water-brooks" etc. When he gives the bread to the clergy he says, "The holy body," and when he gives them the chalice he says: "The precious blood of our Lord and God and Saviour." This service is very condensed, but also very different from the developed form as found in the late services examined above.

Coptic Cyril has the consignation rubric at the beginning of this section, with salutation, benediction and Amens. Then follows the prayer of faith, in form, however, shorter than in the Ethiopic liturgies. Then follows a response, and after that, "Pray for us and for all Christians who have bidden us remember them in the house of the Lord." Then comes the

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[12] The continuation is not given in the text.

Communion with the double part by the deacon and priest, similar to the same section in the Ethiopic liturgies. When the priest administers, he says, "This is in truth the body and blood of Emmanuel our God, Amen," and the communicant responds, "Amen; I believe." When the priest brings the paten down to communicate the women, the deacon shall say, "Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord." Coptic Basil is very brief in point of prayers, but has extensive rubrics, though its general contents are the same as the above.

With regard to the earliest liturgical forms, there are no words of administration given in *Sarapion,* although in the *Testament of Our Lord* a direction is given, that each one when he receives shall say before he partakes, "Amen," and after receiving he is to pray, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Trinity ineffable, grant me to receive this body unto life, and not unto condemnation. And grant me to bring forth the fruits that are pleasing to thee, so that when I shall be shown to be pleasing to thee, I may live in thee, doing thy commandments; and that with boldness I may call thee Father, when I call for thy kingdom and thy will to come to me. May thy name be hallowed in me, O Lord; for thou art mighty and to be praised, and to thee be praises for ever and ever. Amen." When he takes the cup he is to say a double "Amen," "for a complete symbol of the body and blood." Cyril of Jerusalem bids the communicants say "Amen" after receiving the body and blood, in response, undoubtedly, to the words of administration.

According to the various Eastern rites, there are as many as three different methods by which the elements are communicated, (1) the giving of the bread first and then the chalice, (2) the giving of bread by the priest and wine by the deacon in a spoon, (3) with the bread broken and placed in the wine and both administered with a spoon. In the present Ethiopic rite, the reception takes place according to the first method, if we are right in concluding that the words of administering the cup have been omitted.

S. Thanksgiving. The Thanksgiving in the present Ethiopic service is begun by the deacon, who says, "Let us give thanks unto the Lord" etc., to which the people respond, "My mouth shall speak the praise of the Lord" etc. Then the people say, "Our Father who art in heaven, lead us not into temptation." The deacon then says, "We have received of the holy body, and this is the blood of Christ." The following rubric shows the need of emendation in the preceding rubric, "The priest shall say as before three times"; this can only refer to the sentence, "My mouth shall speak the praise of the Lord" etc., in agreement with the British Museum and Berlin manuscripts. The deacon then says, "And let us give thanks unto him who maketh us meet to communicate in the precious and holy mystery." Then follow two rubrics which are not in the other manuscripts: *"The priest shall say, whosoever is a 'Esel* (see note 88, page 384) *let him say,* 'I exalt thee,' etc.; and *The priest shall say to every 'Esel who* *is at the feast of our lady or at the nine feasts of our Lord, or at the ʻEhud feast.*

Then follows the prayer of Thanksgiving with its rubric, and after that a series of ascriptions and portions of the Lord's Prayer, with short alternating supplications. Finally comes the prayer of Inclination, with a long intercessory prayer by the assistant.

The service represented by the British Museum manuscripts is practically the same in this section as the present Ethiopic service (with a slight difference in arrangement and rubrics) till the end of the Inclination prayer. The long Intercessory prayer at this point in the present liturgy is almost word for word the same as the second half of the Intercessory prayer just before the Words of Institution in the British Museum manuscripts. Both of the Berlin manuscripts agree with *Mercer* 3 in the present arrangement, showing that the service in its present form goes back to the end of the seventeenth century at least. However, *Br. Mus. Ms.* 545 is a century earlier. This would point to the conclusion that the British Museum manuscripts represent one local use and the Berlin manuscripts together with *Mercer* 3 represent a parallel but different local use; for in a country where communication is difficult and where there are no printing facilities, the uses in different localities would transmit their peculiarities, to a great extent, independently.

In Tasfa Sion the Thanksgiving begins with the deacon's Thanksgiving prayer, and is practically the same as the present Ethiopic service except that it has no prayer of Inclination, but instead of that it has the following form, not found in any of the manuscripts: "O ruler of souls, guide of saints, and glory of the just, grant us, O Lord, the eyes of knowledge that we may ever behold thee, and ears which may hearken only unto thee, since thou hast filled our souls with thy grace. Create a clean heart within us, O Lord, that we may ever comprehend the greatness of the good and lover of mankind; be gracious, O our God, unto our spirits, and give us a pure mind which turneth not aside, thou who hast given unto us thy humble servants thine own body and blood; for thine is the kingdom, O Lord. Praised and blessed be the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and ever, world without end. Amen." The Long Intercession is not found in Tasfa Sion.

Zar'a-Jacob of the fifteenth century gives us the prayer of Thanksgiving after Communion. It reads: "Almighty God, Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, we thank thee that thou hast granted us to take of these holy mysteries. Let it not be unto guilt nor unto judgment, but unto the renewing of soul and body and spirit through thine only Son" etc. It is noteworthy that this is word for word like the Thanksgiving prayer at this point in the present Ethiopic service. Further, going back and comparing it with early Thanksgiving prayers belonging to this section of the service, we find that the prayer has been transmitted uncorrupted since the third century. In the *Ethiopic Church Order* the "prayer after that they have communicated" reads: "God Almighty, the Father of the Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, we give thee thanks, because thou hast imparted to us the reception of the holy mystery; let it not be for guilt or condemnation, but for the renewal of soul and body and spirit, through thine only Son, through whom to thee with him and with the Holy Spirit be glory and might now and always and for ever and ever. Amen." To this the people respond "Amen." The *Testament of Our Lord* has the same prayer, but somewhat abbreviated, "Let us give thanks unto the Lord, receiving his holy things, so that the reception of them may be for life and the salvation of our souls. Let us beg and beseech his grace, raising a doxology to the Lord our God."

Then in *Sarapion* follows the deacon's salutation: "Let us give thanks unto God after taking of his holy mystery" etc. The priest then says: "My mouth shall speak the praise of God," to which the deacon responds: "We have received of his holy body, the body of Christ, and it is right to thank him for the partaking of his holy mystery." The order of the parts of Zar'a-Jacob agrees with the present service (*Mercer* 3) as over against the order in the service represented by the British Museum manuscripts. Zar'a-Jacob then has the prayer of Inclination or imposition of hands, almost word for word the same as in the present liturgy (*Mercer* 3). It reads: "Eternal and almighty God, Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, bless thy servants and thine handmaids and protect, help, and strengthen their children, succour [them] with the strength of thine angel, and strengthen the fear of thee in proportion to thy greatness; equip them that they may think on what is thine; grant them that they may believe and wish for what is thine; give concord without blame and anger, for the sake of thine only Son" etc.; to which the people respond "Amen."

St. Mark begins the thanksgiving with the deacon's call, "Stand for prayer"; then after a salutation by the priest and a response, there follows the prayer of thanksgiving similar to that in the manuscripts. The liturgy has no Inclination prayer.

The prayer after Communion in the *Ethiopic Church Order* of the third century has already been noticed. Then follows the prayer of Inclination or imposition of hands, which is found in Zar'a-Jacob and in the present service (*Mercer* 3). It reads in the latter: "Eternal God, Almighty, the Father of the Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, bless thy servants and thy handmaids; protect and help and prosper [us] by the power of thine archangel. Keep and confirm in them thy fear by thy greatness. Provide that they shall both think what is thine, and believe what is thine, and will what is thine. Grant to them peace without sin and anger; through thine only Son, through whom to thee with him and with the Holy Spirit be glory and might, now and always, and for ever and ever. Amen." Note the close similarity between this prayer and that in Zar'a-Jacob. *Sarapion* has at this point a prayer of "laying on of hands after the blessing of the water and the oil" which is similar to the deacon's Thanksgiving prayer in the present Ethiopic service. It reads: "O loving God of truth, let the communion of the body and the blood go along with this people. Let their bodies be living bodies, and their souls clean souls. Grant this blessing to be a keeping of their communion, and a security to the Eucharist that has been celebrated; and make blessed all of them in common and make [them] elect through thine only-begotten Jesus Christ in Holy Spirit, both now and ever and world without end. Amen."

It was noticed above that the final prayer in this section in Tasfa Sion was unlike any prayer in the same section in the present Ethiopic service or in that represented in the British Museum manuscripts. It is very interesting to find that the prayer in Tasfa Sion is almost word for word the same as that found in the *Testament of Our Lord* of the end of the fourth century. The prayer in the *Testament of Our Lord reads:* "O Lord, giver of light eternal, the helmsman of our souls, the guide of saints; give us understanding eyes which always look to thee, and ears which hear only thee, so that our souls may be filled with grace. Create in us a clean heart, O God, so that we may always comprehend thy greatness. O God, wonderful, who lovest man, make our souls better, and by this Eucharist, which we thy servants, who fail in much, have now received, form our thoughts so that they may not swerve; for thy kingdom is blessed, O Lord God, who art glorified and praised in Father and in Son and in Holy Ghost, both before the worlds, and now and always, and for the ages, and for ever and ever without end." The people respond "Amen." These prayers in Tasfa Sion and the *Testament of Our Lord* are further interesting, for they contain a remnant of the Lord's Prayer just where we find a reminiscence of the same prayer in the *Didaché.* The same is true of the deacon's thanksgiving in the late Ethiopic liturgies. As noted above, early liturgical forms do not have the Lord's Prayer, but the fact that such reminiscences and fragments of it are found in prayers of early liturgical forms tends to show that while the prayer was not written in full in such forms nevertheless it was probably said as a whole; and because of its familiarity to all it was not considered necessary to write it. The earliest use, then, of the Lord's Prayer in the Eucharist was probably as an act of thanksgiving after Communion; and later it was introduced into the body of the Canon, to be said immediately after the Invocation by the priest and people together; but was still retained to be said sectionally as a thanksgiving, as is the case with the present Ethiopic service.

Coptic Cyril begins its Thanksgiving with the same salutation by the deacon as the present Ethiopic service, but in the former there follows immediately after the prayer of Thanksgiving and an Inclination, the prayer of John of Bostra, not found in the Ethiopic service. Coptic Basil begins its Thanksgiving with the last prayer in this section in Tasfa Sion and its parallel in the *Testament of Our Lord,* except that all reminiscences of the Lord's

Prayer are omitted from the prayers in Basil. This was done with a view to transferring the Lord's Prayer as a whole to a position after the Invocation. Then there follows immediately the prayer of Institution, which is similar to that in the present service. Among the Coptic liturgies Basil has more in common with the Ethiopic service, Cyril having adopted the special prayer of John of Bostra.

T. Dismissal. In the present Ethiopic service the deacon begins the Dismissal by saying, "Bow down your heads before the Lord our God" etc.; to which the people respond "Amen. The Lord bless us and be propitious unto us." Then the priest, while he blesses with the sign of the cross, says two long prayers of blessing, after which he says, "May the Lord bless and make his face to shine upon thee" etc. After that come a short salutation and response, followed by another prayer of blessing beginning, "The Lord give us a blessing of peace and be propitious unto us his servants." Then the deacon says, "Depart in peace," and the priest says a final prayer *while he places the εὐλογία,* after which comes a rubric for the guidance of the priest after disrobing.

Here is appended in *Mercer* 3 the following note: "The whole order of the *Ḳeddāsē* of the Apostles and chiefs and of the ancient Fathers is ended in the peace of the Lord. May their prayers and their blessings and the gift of their association be with us and with his scribe *Walda George* for ever and ever. Amen and Amen. So be it. So be it. *Ḳeddāsē.* Lord."

The Dismissal in the service represented by the British Museum manuscripts is much briefer than that in *Mercer* 3. It begins with the same salutation by the deacon, and then immediately afterwards the priest gives the benediction, "The Lord bless [thee] and make his face to shine upon thee and be gracious unto thee and give thee peace"; and after making the sign of the cross he continues the benediction as follows: "Govern them and lift them up and keep them for ever, and keep thine holy Church for ever, which thou hast purchased and ransomed with the precious blood of thine only Son our Lord Jesus Christ, which thou hast made to be a congregation for kings and for princes, for a pure generation and for an holy people." The deacon then says, "Depart in peace." Then there follows a short salutation and a final prayer of blessing, beginning, "The Lord give us, his servants, the blessing of peace. Remission be unto us" etc. *Berlin* 36 and 414 end in a manner very similar to the service in *Mercer* 3.

Tasfa Sion begins the Dismissal with the priest's prayer of benediction, which is really the same prayer as the prayer of Inclination or imposition of hands in the manuscripts. Then follows the note, "Here ends the *Ḳeddāsē* of our fathers the Apostles. May their prayers and blessings be with us. Amen."

In Zar'a-Jacob's Church order the liturgical form ends thus: the priest says, "Peace be with you," after which the deacon says, "Go in peace."

St. Mark's Dismissal ceremony begins with a prayer of blessing by the priest, which is not found in the late Ethiopic liturgies. The deacon then says, "Depart in peace," and the priest says, "In the name of the Lord," and pronounces the benediction, "The love of God the Father, the grace of the Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, the communion and gifts of the all-holy Spirit, be with us all, now, henceforth, and for ever"; and the people respond, "Amen. Blessed be the name of the Lord." Then follows a service for the sacristy.

The *Ethiopic Church Order* of the third century ends thus: the bishop says, "The Lord be with you all," to which the people respond, "With thy spirit." Then the deacon says, "Go in peace." The Dismissal in the *A. C.* is introduced by a salutation and prayer by the bishop, and then the deacon says, "Depart in peace."

In Coptic Cyril the Dismissal begins with a long *prayer of imposition of hands after the receiving of the mysteries,* to which the people respond with a Κύριε ἐλέησον. Then the priest makes a sign with water upon the table, and says, "Angel of the sacrifice soaring on high with the hymn, make memorial of us before the Lord that he forgive us our sins." A rubric says that the priest then dismisses the people with the blessing, but the form of blessing is not recorded. The Dismissal in Coptic Basil is precisely the same, and neither does it record the final blessing. Neither Cyril nor Basil have preserved the primitive "Depart in peace."

Finally, in the course of our task of comparing the liturgy as it is used in the Ethiopic Church today with the same service as used in the nineteenth century (*Br. Mus.* 548 and *Berlin* 36), in the eighteenth century (*Br. Mus.* 546 and *Berlin* 36), in the seventeenth century (*Br. Mus.* 545), in the sixteenth century (Tasfa Sion), to a very limited extent in the fifteenth century (Church Order of Zar'a-Jacob), and in the fifth century (original St. Mark as adopted by the Ethiopic Church), we have found that from the fifth to the end of the sixteenth century many changes arose in the contents and prayers, in the order of parts, and in the rubrics; but nevertheless the general outline and structure of the service remained the same during all these eleven centuries. We have learned that the service from the end of the sixteenth till the end of the nineteenth centuries remained almost word for word the same within the same general localities, though changing slightly with varying centres. The present service, so far as we can judge from our manuscript, is practically the same as that used at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, and probably dates back many further generations. At any rate it is not far different from the service of the beginning of the seventeenth century. It has added a few prayers here and there, which have been fully indicated in the above discussion; but the essentials, even to details, have remained the same since the sixteenth century, if not from even an earlier period.

In this work of comparison, in addition to Ethiopic sources, use has been made of parallel sources and of parallel liturgies, early and late. The important liturgical forms which belong to a date previous to the fifth century have been made use of, in showing prayer forms and arrangements which were carried on into the later Ethiopic liturgies; comparisons have been made with the sister liturgies of the Coptic Church; and in a general way light has been thrown on the development of the Ethiopic liturgy, during the succeeding centuries, from other Eastern rites, and in a very limited way from the more important Western liturgies. And now, in this present imperfect work, and in the publication and translation of the liturgy as it is used in Abyssinia to-day, the student of liturgics has before him the material necessary for a more complete study of the Ethiopic liturgy than has been possible hitherto.

THE ETHIOPIC LITURGY

THE ETHIOPIC LITURGY

BEING

THE ORDO COMMUNIS

WITH

THE ANAPHORA OF THE APOSTLES[*]

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, one God.

¶ *The order of the Keddāsē, which is to be said by the presbyter and the deacon and the people; together with everything that is proper at this time, according to the order of our fathers the Egyptians*

⟨THE PREPARATION OF THE MINISTERS⟩

¶ *First of all the priest, when he entereth the church, shall say the prayer of penitence; and next he shall say a psalm of David; and then he shall say this prayer*

Lord our God, thou alone art holy, and thou hast bestowed holiness on all of us by thine invisible power. Yea, O Lord our God, and we beseech thee to send thy Holy Spirit upon this thy church and upon this *tābōt,*[1] and upon all their holy vessels whereon thy precious majesty is ordered. And now bless them and hallow them and cleanse them from all uncleanness and defilement through the remission of the second birth, so that there be not left on them for ever any remembrance of transgressions and pollution; and make this church and this *tābōt* vessels chosen and cleansed and pure, refined seven times from all uncleanness and defilement and pollution of transgression, like silver refined, purged and tried from the earth, and when they are void of purity and of sanctity make them such that on them may be wrought the mystery of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

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[*] For the convenience of the student of liturgics the translation of the present Ethiopic liturgy is compared and made to correspond with the translation of the earlier MSS. in Brightman, *LEW*, so far as possible. The numbers in the translation refer to notes which are given at the end of the translation.

¶ *And then making the sign of the cross*

Εἷς πατήρ ἅγιος Ἰησοῦς[2] πνεῦμα ἅγιος. Amen.

¶ *And then before the withdrawing of the veil he shall bow before the veil*

Lord our God, who knowest the thought of man and triest the heart and reins, forasmuch as, although I am not worthy, thou hast called me to minister in this holy place, disdain me not nor turn away thy face from me, but take sin away from upon me and purify the uncleanness of my soul and my body. And now we pray thee, O Lord, and we beseech thee, that thou wouldst blot out my error and the trespass of thy people; lead us not into temptation. Yea, Lord, thrust me not away and make me not ashamed of my hope, but send down upon me the dew of thy pity the grace of the Holy Ghost, and make me meet to stand in thy sanctuary, that I may offer unto thee a pure oblation with an humble heart for the remission of sin and error; and remember not the trespass of thy people, which they have wrought unwittingly and wittingly; vouchsafe rest unto our fathers and brothers and sisters who have fallen asleep; keep and defend thy people. To thee and to thine only good, loving Son and lover of man and to the Holy Ghost, the life-giver, be glory world without end.[3] Amen.

¶ *And he shall say this prayer of Basil*[4] *over the curtain which is removed*

Lord, our God and our creator, who hast made all things through thy Word, and hast brought us to this mystery by thy wisdom, who didst form man and madest him to be ruler over all creatures, that he might judge in righteousness and in purity; grant us the wisdom which dwelleth in thy treasures, create in us a clean heart, and forgive us our sins and hallow our souls and make us meet to draw nigh to thy sanctuary, that we may offer to thee an oblation and spiritual sacrifice for the remission of the sin of thy people. O our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who hast raised us from the earth and lifted us up out of the dust, that thou mightest set us with the[5] angels of thy people, make us worthy of thy holy gospel and of love, and in[6] the greatness of thy loving-kindness hear us, that we may do thy will in this hour, offering to thee an oblation, sweet-smelling and good, and fruit, good and spiritual, that we may be well-pleasing unto thee in thy loving-kindness and mercy. Accept this spotless oblation, and send upon us, upon this mystery, the Holy Spirit; let it be to the glory of thine only Son, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, world without end. Amen.

⟨THE PREPARATION OF THE INSTRUMENTS⟩

Prayer over the vessels of the Church

Lord our God, good and merciful and holy, who dwellest in this holy place, who of thy goodness didst command Moses thy servant to take thy blood and sprinkle it on all the vessels of the tabernacle; now also we pray thee and beseech thee, O good one and lover of man, that thou wouldest sanctify these vessels by the Holy Spirit and the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ our Lord; let all the vessels be made pure for thy service, and let this same holy ordinance be in truth these life-giving mysteries, the precious body and blood of our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ; for holy and full of glory is thy holy name, Father and Son and Holy Ghost, both now and ever and world without end.[7] Amen.

Prayer over the māchfadāt

Lord, our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom belong treasuries which are full of loving-kindness and mercy, O giver of good things to all who trust in him, who did spread out the heavens by his wisdom and gave a diverse law to the firmaments and the clouds and the sky, the line whereof hath not changed[8]; now also, our God, thou lover of man, send down thine hand and the power of thy godhead upon these cloths which shall be wrapped about and which shall cover thine holy body. Thou who didst send thy power upon those cloths which were wrapped about thy holy body which was in the sepulchre, let these also be made in the likeness of those which are in the heavens; for thine is the glory and the power and the might, with thy[9] Father and the Holy Ghost, both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

⟨THE VESTING⟩

¶ *And next he shall go in and worship before the tābōt; and then the prayer of John*

Lord our God, who sittest above the angels and the archangels, the lords and the dominions, the cherubim and the seraphim, who wast before all creatures; who art exalted above all glory; who liftest up the dead and lowly from the earth, and exaltest them to heaven; thou who hast manifested to us a new way for our salvation,[10] whose mercies are numberless; O good one and lover of man, who by thy will hast taught us[11] poor ones, thy people, to know the mystery of thy holiness and thine awful word; praised also be the glory which[12] thou hast ordained for us. Lord, our God, O good one and lover of man, suffer us to come into thy holy of holies and read thy mysteries as befitteth thy godhead, with a right faith in thee; do thou make to shine upon us thy glory, which removeth from us both the polluting thought and the deed of sin; and send upon us the Holy Ghost, the consuming fire, which the fiery ones cannot approach unto, which consumeth the evil thought and burneth up sins; vouchsafe knowledge to the eyes of our heart[13] and keep our lips from speaking evil; give us peace and teach us righteousness; for thou art the holy garment and the medicine of our sickness in thy wisdom; and make us to become meet for this thine holy mystery, and put away from us all evil thoughts and lusts which fight against our soul, that we may offer to thee a good heavenly oblation without spot or uncleanness. Through thy great loving-kindness and mercy and favour may we accomplish this heavenly mystery which is above all mysteries. To thee with thy good heavenly Father and the Spirit, the giver of life, we will raise majesty and honour, world without end. Amen.

¶ *If there is a pope present, he shall go to him*[14] *with the vestment to be blessed and vested; but if there is no pope, he shall bless and vest himself*

⟨THE PROTHESIS⟩

¶ *And while he dresseth the tābōt*[15] *he shall say this prayer*

Lord our God, who knowest the hearts of each and every holy one, who dwellest among the holy, who art without sin and alone able to forgive sin; whereas thou knowest, O Lord, that I am not worthy and I am not pure for this thine holy service, and that I have not the countenance wherewith to draw nigh and to open my mouth before thine holy glory; yet according to the multitude of thy holy mercy forgive me my sin, for I am a sinner; grant me to find grace and mercy in this hour and send to us thy power from on high, that I may be worthy, and may accomplish thine holy service both according to thy will and thy good pleasure, and that this incense also may be a sweet-smelling savour. And do thou also, our Lord, be with us; for thou art the absolver of our sins and the light of our souls, and our life and our strength and our hope and our refuge, and to thee we send up unto the highest thanksgiving and honour and worship, to the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, now and ever and world without end. Amen.

¶ *Prayer, after he hath prepared the altar, of the Father*

Lord who hast taught us[16] this great mystery of salvation, thou who hast called thy lowly servants, although we be unworthy, to be ministers unto thine holy altar; do thou, O our master, make us meet by the might of the Holy Ghost, thou our master, to accomplish this service, to the end that without falling into judgment in the presence of thy great glory, we might present to thee a sacrifice of praise, glory, and great comeliness in thy sanctuary. O Lord, giver of redemption and sender of grace, who workest all in all, grant us, Lord, grant us, that our gift be accepted in thy sight. Yea, Lord our God, we pray thee and beseech thee, that thou wilt not forsake thy people by reason of their sin, and especially not by reason of my foolishness; for holy is thine holy place according to the gift of the Holy Spirit; in Jesus Christ our Lord to whom with thee,[17] and with the Holy Ghost the life-giver, who is co-equal with thee, be glory, honour, and power both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

¶ *While entering, the assistant presbyter or the presbyter shall say this at the time of the oblation to those who earnestly desire to receive the mystery*

O my brother, thou who art thus minded, who art in thy sin, and who prayest for compassion that thou mayest receive the host, go not forth from the church when the sacrifice is offered, and when they offer on thy behalf do not leave the priest to go out, and when they offer on thy behalf do not depart with those who go out who are not baptized, but remain in the church and listen to the words of the priest, and hear the petition for the remission of thy sins and the sins of all men. And he will destroy thine iniquity. If thou desirest, O man, to receive the host why dost thou go forth from the church? He who remains and asks compassion for himself shall be saved. Now how wilt thou be refined if thou wanderest from land to land in thy heart, when there is no sign that thou art of those sealed by the heavenly bride of Christ. Wouldst thou alone go forth from the church and shut its door upon thee, that thou mayest not attain to eternity? For a stranger shall not approach within its door. If the bride eat it for her bridegroom, then he shall not taste it, for she shall not give to him. He conquers who sees his bride, who sacrifices his body at the time of the marriage feast, which is continually eaten. The Son of God did a new work which is for eternity. He, the creator of the world, who was not created, even he, afterwards administered his holy body and precious blood, exhorting that at the marriage feast, before reclining, they all eat of it and that they may live on it for ever and ever. O food, which is our Lord Jesus Christ, who is at the marriage feast, blessed art thou our God, who hast given us his holy body and precious blood for remission of sin, and [hast granted] that we may live in him for ever, to whom be praise and thanksgiving with his Father and the Holy Ghost both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

¶ *And the priest shall say this. He shall rise up with reverence before all the worshippers, and with the deacon he shall unite and come to the tābōt, and take the vestment in his hand and turn his face towards the east, and he shall bow thrice and shall say* Our Father who art in heaven. *And then he shall turn towards the people and see whether there is a deacon to minister, before he puts on the complete vestments; for if there is no deacon to minister and to help him, the priest cannot unrobe himself after robing. And when the presbyter will robe himself, he shall see whether it is too long or too short; for after robing it is not allowed to put off again. And he shall put on the Akmām and he shall tie it up with the girdle. And he shall collect his thoughts and not let them ramble about in the things of the world, nor go out even of the door of the sanctuary, to the end that he do that which is his duty, and be vigilant in his work, O Lord, more than the angels of the Lord of all creation*

¶ *And he shall say this prayer after the withdrawal*

How awful is this day and how marvellous this house, wherein the Holy Ghost will come down from the high heaven and overshadow this oblation and hallow it. In quietness, in fear, and in trembling stand ye up, and pray that his peace be with me and with all of you. Amen.

¶ *Then he shall go around with the eucharistic host*

Remember those who bring near to thee this oblation, and let it be brought for the sake of those whom he, who is in heaven, has purchased, and especially for thy work which is found with thee in this hour. Accept it for thyself, like as thou didst accept the offering of righteous Abel and the oblation of our father Abraham, and also the widow's mite[18]; in like manner receive the salutations of the many and of the few, of the hidden and of the manifest, and fill their homes with all thy goodness, wherever thy holy name is recorded on earth. Remember them, O Lord, in thy heavenly kingdom, and leave me not here for ever and ever. Amen.

Now, hail, holy Church, the decoration of whose wall and ceiling is of stone of topaz. Now, hail, holy Church, possessor of the cross, the cross of *'Aberhā,** among the stars, ornaments of heaven, most like the sun, cross of *'Aberhā.* And now venerable father *in unison* Joseph and Nicodemus wrapped Jesus in linen clothing and spices, who rose from the dead in a marvellous manner.

¶ *After the priest is vested thus, the people shall say in unison*

Hallelujah

¶ *If there be anyone of the faithful who hath entered the Church at the time of the Ḳeddāsē, and hath not heard the holy scriptures, and hath not waited until they finish the*

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* King of Abyssinia, see ZDMG, VII, 344-345.

prayer of the Keddāsē, and hath not received the host, let him be excommunicated from the Church; for he hath violated the law of the Lord and disdained to stand before the heavenly king, the king of flesh and spirit. This the apostles have taught us in their canon

Prayer over the masōb

Our God, Lord, our God, who said unto Moses, his servant and prophet, in mount Sinai, make me a choice vessel and set it in the tabernacle; now also, Lord our God Almighty, stretch forth thine holy right hand upon the *masōb,* and fill it with power and virtue, and the grace of the Holy Ghost and thy glory, that they may make therein the body of thine only holy Son in this holy apostolic Church; for thine is the glory, with thine only Son and the Holy Ghost, both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

¶ *The people shall say*

Thou art the *masōb* ("pot") of pure gold, wherein is hidden the manna, the bread which cometh down from heaven and giveth life unto all the world.

¶ *The priest, making the sign over the bread, shall say*

Εὐλογίος (sic!) Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, Son of the living Lord, ἁγίασμα τῶν πνευμάτων ἅγιος in truth. Amen.

¶ *And then he shall take the host in his pure hands while it is moist, and he shall dry one alone; he shall rub the bread with his hand; while he says its blessing, he shall put it in the masōb; he shall pour the oblation while he says ·*

I entreat thy favour to me, turn not away from thine handiwork; be not angry; assist me and do not reject me, my God and my Saviour.

¶ *And again signing on his mouth with the sign of the cross, he shall say*

Christ, our very God, sign with thy right hand and bless with thine hand and hallow with thy power and give virtue with thy spirit to this bread, for the remission of the sins of thy people.

¶ *And then the assistant shall receive it into the māchfad, saying*

Like as Joseph and Nicodemus wrapped thee in linen clothing and thou wast well pleased in them, in like manner be well pleased in us.

¶ *And then the priest shall take it and say this prayer*

The hallowing is accepted, the thanksgiving and magnifying for the remission of sins from the Lord, the Father. Amen. Power and blessing and sanctification and holy be, in this day, the holy apostolic Church. Amen.

¶ *And then the priest shall turn once toward the tābōt, the taper in front of him, and shall say*

Lord our God, who didst accept the offering of the righteous Abel in the wild, and of Noah within the ark, and of Abraham on the mountain top and of Elijah on the top of Carmel, and of David in the threshing floor of Ornan the Jebusite, and the widow's mite in the sanctuary, accept likewise the oblation and offering of our father *'Gălē,* which he has brought unto thine holy name, and let it be for the remission of his sins; and recompense him with a goodly recompense in this world and in that which is to come, both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

¶ *And the deacon shall say three times while he takes the chalice*

The Lord seeth me.

¶ *And then the priest shall set the host in the paten, and the deacon shall pour the blood into the chalice*

¶ *The priest shall say this prayer, after he hath set the host on the paten*

Lord our God, good and life-giving, who didst spread forth thine holy hands upon the tree of the cross; place thine holy hand upon this paten which is filled with good things, whereon they that love thy name have prepared the sustenance of a thousand years. And now, O Lord our God, bless with thine hand and hallow and cleanse this paten, which is filled with live coal, even thine own holy body, which we have presented on this altar in this holy apostolic church; for thine is the glory, with thy Father and the Holy Ghost, both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

Prayer over the chalice

Lord our God, Jesus Christ ἀληθινός, in truth our God who was made man, whose godhead was not severed from his manhood, who of his own good pleasure did pour out his blood for the sake of his creatures; now, O Lord our God, place thine holy hand upon the cup, hallow it and cleanse it that it may become thy precious blood, for life and for remission of sin unto everyone that shall drink thereof believingly. Glory be to thine heavenly Father and to the Spirit, the life-giver, both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

Prayer over the cross-spoon

Lord our God, who didst make thy servant *Walda George* meet to behold the seraph, when with the tongs in his hand he put therewith a coal[19] on his mouth; now, Lord our God[20] Almighty, place thine holy hand upon the cross-spoon, for the administering of the body and holy blood of thine only Son our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ; bless now and hallow and cleanse this cross-spoon, and give it power and glory, as thou gavest to the tongs of the seraph; for thine is the glory and the dominion, with thine only Son our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ and the Spirit both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

A second prayer over the chalice

Christ, our very God, our Lord, who wentest to the marriage feast when they called thee in Cana of Galilee, and didst bless them and didst make the water wine, also in like manner do thou unto this wine which is set before thee; bless it and hallow it and cleanse it; let it become the joy and life of our soul and our body. At all times may the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost be with us. Fill it with the wine of rejoicing and exultation, both for good for life and for salvation and for the remission of sin, for understanding and for healing and for counsel of the Holy Ghost, both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

¶ *And then he shall say*

Purity and sweetness and blessing be to those who drink of thy blood precious ἀληθινόν in truth. Amen.

¶ *Then the priest shall sign with his hand the form of the sign of the cross over the bread; the priest shall say*

Blessed be the Lord, the Father Almighty.

¶ *The people shall say*

Amen.

¶ *The priest shall say*

And blessed be the only Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, who was made man of the holy Virgin Mary for our salvation.

¶ *The people shall say*

Amen.

¶ *Over the chalice in like manner, over both*

Glory and honour are due unto the Holy Trinity, the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, co-equal both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Pray, my fathers and brothers, over this oblation.

¶ *The assistant priest shall say*

May the Lord, who heareth all who pray to him, accept thy oblation and thy offering. May the Lord, who heareth all who pray to him,[21] accept thy oblation and thy gift, as [he accepted those of] Melchizedek and Aaron and Zacharias, the Christian priesthood preferably, all of whom said, Our Father who art in heaven.

¶ *He shall turn to his assistant, touching his hand when he speaketh the word, saying*

Remember me, O my father presbyter.

¶ *He also shall answer him*

The Lord keep thy priesthood and accept thy Oblation.

¶ *Then the priest shall stand upright with his face to the east, stretching forth his hands while he shall say with a loud voice*

One is the holy Father, one is the holy Son, one is the Holy Ghost.

¶ *The people shall say*

Truly the Father is holy, truly the Son is holy, truly the Holy Ghost is [holy].

¶ *The priest shall say*

O praise[22] the Lord, all ye nations.

¶ *The people shall say*

Praise him all ye peoples.

¶ *The priest shall say*

For his merciful kindness is established upon us.

¶ *The people shall say*

And the righteousness of the Lord endureth for ever.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Glory be to the Father and to the Son
and to the Holy Ghost,
both now and ever and world without end. Amen.
Hallelujah.

⟨ENARXIS⟩

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Stand up for prayer.

¶ *The people shall say*

Lord have mercy upon us.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Peace be unto you all.

¶ *The people shall say*

With thy spirit.

Prayer of Thanksgiving

We give thanks unto the doer of good unto us, the merciful God, the Father of our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ; for he hath both covered us and succoured us, he hath kept us, he hath brought us nigh and received us unto himself, and hath undertaken our defence and brought us unto this hour. Let us therefore pray that the Almighty Lord, our God, keep us in this holy day all the days of our life and in all peace.

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Pray.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Lord, Lord, God Almighty, the Father of our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, we render thee thanks for everything, for that thou hast covered us and succoured us, hast kept us and brought us nigh, and hast received us unto thyself and undertaken our defence, and hast strengthened us and brought us unto this hour.

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Entreat ye and beseech, that the Lord have mercy upon us and compassionate us, and receive prayer and supplication from his saints in our behalf, according to what is expedient at all times. May he make us meet to partake of the communion of the blessed mystery, and remit unto us our sins.

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Κύριε ἐλέησον.

¶ *The priest shall say*

For this cause we pray and entreat of thy goodness, O lover of man, grant us to fulfil this holy day all the days of our life, and in all peace along with thy fear. All envy and all trial, and all the working of Satan and the counsel of evil men, and the influence of the adversary secret and open, *he shall bless himself once,* remove O Lord, [be] far from me and far from all thy people, *he shall bless the people,* and from this holy place of thine *he shall bless the altar once;* all good things that are expedient and excellent command them for us, for thou art he who hath given us power to tread upon scorpions and serpents, and upon all the power of the enemy. Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us and rescue us from all evil; in the grace and loving-kindness of the lover of man, of thine only Son our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, through whom to thee with him and the Holy Ghost, the life-giver, are fitting glory and honour and might, now and ever and world without end. Amen.

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Stand up for prayer.[23]

¶ *The people shall say*

The Lord have mercy upon us.[24]

¶ *The priest shall say*

Peace be unto you all.[25]

¶ *The people shall say*

With thy spirit.[26]

¶ *The assistant priest shall say the prayer of oblation*

And again, let us beseech the Almighty Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, on behalf of those who bring an offering to the one holy catholic Church, an oblation, firstfruits, tithes, a thankoffering, a memorial, whether much or little, in secret or openly, and [on behalf] of those who wish to give and have not wherewith to give, that he accept their ready mind, that he who is in heaven vouchsafe the spirit of every deed of blessing, to whom be power even the Lord our God.

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Pray for those who bring an offering.

¶ *The people shall say*

Accept the offering of the brethren, accept the offering of the sisters, and accept the offering of the brethren, accept our offering and our oblation.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Lord our God, who art Almighty, we pray and beseech thee for those who bring an offering within the one holy catholic Church, an oblation, firstfruits, tithes, a thankoffering, a memorial, in secret or openly, whether much or little, and for those who wish to give and have not wherewith to give. Thine acceptance of their ready mind grant thou unto all of them; let the recompense of blessing be a portion, to thy one Son, world without end. Amen.[27]

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Stand up for prayer.

¶ *The people shall say*

Lord have mercy upon us.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Peace be to all.

¶ *The people shall say*

And with thy spirit.

Prayer of the Anaphora

O my master, Jesus Christ, co-eternal pure Word of the Father and Word of the Holy Ghost, thou art the bread of life who came down from heaven, and didst foretell that thou wouldst be the Lamb without spot for the life of the world; we pray and beseech of thy excellent goodness, O lover of man, make thy face to shine[28] upon this bread *pointing,*[29] and upon this cup *pointing,* which we have set upon this spiritual tābōt of thine; bless *he shall bless once,* this bread, and hallow *he shall bless once,* this cup, and cleanse them both, *he shall bless once because of both,* and change this bread, *pointing;* let it become thy pure body, and what is mingled with this cup, *pointing,* let it be thy precious blood for us all, and let it be the healing and salvation of our soul and our body and our spirit. For thou art the king of us all, our God, and to thee we send up praise and worship, and to thy good heavenly Father and to the Holy Ghost the life-giver who is co-equal with thee, both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

¶ *The deacon shall say, when he shall have turned his face towards the east, the command of our fathers the apostles*

Let none keep in his heart rancour or revenge or hatred towards his neighbour.

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Worship the Lord in fear.

¶ *The people shall say*

Before thee, O Lord, we worship and thee we glorify.

¶ *The priest shall say*

The wrapping of the bread in linen, and our placing it upon the blessed paten, is like to the sepulchre and thy resting in it three days and three nights; so make our hands like the hands of Joseph and Nicodemus, who wrapped the body in linen clothes and placed it there, with the repose and the glory of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

¶ *And the priest shall cover the bread with a covering, and shall turn around at the tābōt, and the deacon shall bow to the presbyter and they both shall bow together*

¶ *And the presbyter who assisteth shall say this: the Absolution of the Son*

O Lord, Lord, Jesus Christ, the only Son, the Word of the Lord the Father, who hast broken off from us every bond of our sins through thy lifegiving and sufferings, and who didst breathe upon the face of thine holy disciples and pure ministers, saying to them, Receive the Holy Ghost; whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained; thou hast vouchsafed to thy pure ministers, who do the priest's office at all times in this holy church, that they should remit sin on earth, should bind and loose every bond of iniquity. And now again, we pray and beseech and entreat of thy goodness, O lover of man, in behalf of thy servants, my fathers and my brothers and my sisters, and of me thy sinful and feeble one, and of those who bow their heads before thine holy altar; make plain for us the way of thy mercy, break and sever every bond of our sins, whether[30] we have trespassed, O Lord, wittingly or unwittingly, or in deceit or in faint-heartedness, whether in deed or in word or in cowardice, for thou knowest the feebleness of man. O good one and lover of man, and lord of all creation, bless us and purify us, and grant us the forgiveness of our sins, and free us and set us loose, and loose all thy people, *here he shall mention our lately departed,* and fill us[31] with the fear of thy name and stablish us to do thy holy will, O good one; for thou art our God and our Saviour, and to thee is fitting the glory and the praise with the good heavenly Father and with the Holy Ghost, the life-giver, who is co-equal with thee both now and ever and world without end; *benediction three times;* may thy servants who have ministered on this day, the presbyter and the deacon and the priests, *he shall bless the ministers,*[32] and all the people, *he shall bless the people* and my own neediness also, I thy poor servant, *he shall bless himself,* be absolved and delivered out of the mouth of the Holy Trinity, the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, and out of the mouth of our holy catholic and apostolic Church, and out of the mouth of the fifteen[33] prophets, and out of the mouth of the twelve apostles, and out of the mouth of the twenty-two disciples, and out of the mouth of the divine evangelist Mark, the apostle and martyr, and out of the mouth of the fathers, archpopes St. Severus and St. Dioscorus and St. John Chrysostom, and St. Cyril and St. Gregory and St. Basil, and St. Epiphanius and out of the mouth of the three hundred and eighteen orthodox who assembled in Nicea, and the one hundred and fifty in Constantinople, and the two hundred in Ephesus, and out of the mouth of the honoured father, the archpope abba *Matthew,* and our blessed pope abba *Peter,* and out of the mouth of me also, thy sinful and feeble servant. May they be absolved out of the mouth of our Lady Mary, spiritual parent of God, the new loom. For blessed and full of glory is thy name, O Holy Trinity, Father and Son and Holy Ghost, both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Let us therefore arise with our knowledge in our place, and let us recompense Christians who resist those whom they see in their midst, who do not unite and do not affiliate, who lift up their hearts and examine the kingdom and see that which is not true, and who are diverted in secret wisdom.

¶ *The deacon or presbyter shall say*

For peaceable holiness we beseech, that the Lord make us peaceable by his own loving-kindness.

¶ *The people shall say at each pause*[34]

Amen. Κύριε ἐλέησον· Lord have mercy upon us.

For our faith[35] we beseech, that the Lord[36] would grant us that we keep the faith in purity.

For our congregation we beseech, that the Lord would keep us unto the end in the fellowship of the Holy Ghost.

For the patience of souls we beseech, that the Lord vouchsafe us the perfection of patience in all our tribulation.

For the holy prophets we beesech, that the Lord number us with them.

For the apostolic family we beseech, that the Lord grant us to be well-pleasing, even as they were well-pleasing, and apportion unto us a lot with them.

¶ *The deacon shall say*

For the holy martyrs we beseech, that the Lord grant unto us the same conversation.

For our archpope abba *Matthew,* and the blessed pope abba *Peter,* we beseech, that the Lord grant them unto us for a long time, that with understanding heart they rightly speak the word of faith in purity of heart without spot, for that they are the guardians of the Church.

For the presbyters we beseech, that the Lord never take from them the spirit of priesthood and the zeal and the fear of him unto the end, and that he vouchsafe them their labour.

For the deacons we beseech, that the Lord grant them to run a perfect course and to draw nigh unto their work in holiness, and that he remember their love.

For the widows and celibates we beseech, that the Lord hear their prayer, and vouchsafe them abundantly in their hearts the grace of the Holy Ghost and accept their labour.

For the subdeacons and the anagnosts and the singers we beseech, that the Lord grant them to perfect the zeal of their faith.

For the virgins we beseech, that the Lord grant them the crown of virginity, and that they be unto the Lord sons and daughters, and that he accept their labour.

For the ascetics we beseech, that the Lord grant them to receive their reward through abstinence.

For the laity and faithful men we beseech, that the Lord grant them that they preserve the fulness of faith.

For the weak among Christians we beseech, that the Lord grant their share in the washing away of sin, and seal them with the seal of sanctification.

For our king *Menīlek* we beseech, that the Lord vouchsafe him much peace in his days.

For the judges and those who are in authority we beseech, that the Lord give them wisdom and the fear of him.

For all the world we beseech, that the Lord prevent the thought thereof, and put into the mind of each to desire that which is good and expedient.

For those who travel by sea and in the desert we beseech, that the Lord guide them with a merciful right hand.

For the hungry and thirsty we beseech, that the Lord give them their daily food.

For the sad and sorrowful we beseech, that the Lord give them perfect consolation.

For prisoners we beseech, that the Lord loose them from their bonds.

For the captives we beseech, that the Lord restore them to their country.

For the excommunicate we beseech, that the Lord grant them patience and wholesome discipline, and vouchsafe that their labour be perfected.

For those of the Christian congregation who are fallen asleep we beseech, that the Lord give them a place of rest.

For the sick and suffering we beseech, that the Lord heal them speedily and send upon them loving-kindness and mercy.

For those of our fathers and our brothers who have trespassed we beseech, that the Lord cherish not anger against them, but grant them rest and relief from his wrath.

For the rains we beseech, that the Lord send rain on the place that needeth it.

For the waters of the rivers we beseech, that the Lord fill them with the water of life unto due measure and limit.

For the fruit of the earth we beseech, that the Lord give fruit for sowing and for harvest.

And all of us who ask and beseech in prayer, may he clothe with the spirit of peace and vouchsafe us to lighten the eyes of our hearts, that we may draw near and ask the Lord that he hear and accept our prayer.

Let us rise up in the Holy Ghost, that we may have knowledge and grow in his name, in his grace and glory, and be built up upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles.

Let us draw nigh, and ask the Lord that he hear our prayer and accept.

¶ *And then the people shall stand up*

⟨LITTLE ENTRANCE⟩

⟨THE CENSING⟩

¶ *And the priest shall take grains of incense in his right hand and the censer in his right hand, and if there be a pope there he shall bring unto him the incense and the censer to*[37] *bless them, and if there be no pope present he shall bless them himself, making mention of the current year of grace, of the beginning of night and day*

¶ *And the priest shall say*

God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost accept this our prayer and this incense and this lamp and this oblation *three times the same;* our Lady Mary, mother of God, offer up our prayer that our sins may be forgiven.

¶ *And then he shall cast the incense saying*

Blessed be the Lord, the Almighty Father. Amen.

¶ *The assistant shall say*

And blessed be the only Son Jesus Christ, who was made of Mary, the holy Virgin, for our salvation.

¶ *The people shall say*

Amen.

¶ *The priest shall say*

And blessed be the Holy Ghost, the Paraclete, who strengtheneth us all.

¶ *The people shall say*

Amen.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Glory and honour be to the Holy Trinity,
the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost,
co-equal both now and ever and world without end.
Amen.

¶ *And then he shall say this*

I will offer unto thee incense with rams; all thy garments smell of myrrh aloes and cassia; let my prayer be set forth in thy sight as incense. Yet again we offer unto thee this incense.

Lauds of the angels singing in the highest,
hallelujah to the Father; hallelujah to the Son;
hallelujah to the Holy Ghost.
Worship we the Father; worship we the Son;
worship we the Holy Spirit,
three in one and one in three.

Accept of me my prayer, that the incense in thy presence, gift of the Father, present of the Son, communion of the Holy Ghost, even now may ascend to thee; and praise to our Lady Mary, mother of God, lover of the prophets and true apostles and martyrs and fathers of old, be with me and with all of you, O eternal God, the first and the last, who hath neither beginning nor end, who is great in his counsel and mighty in his work and righteous in his purpose and strong in his might, who is, and is to be, in all things; be with us in this hour, and stand in the midst of us all, and purify our hearts and sanctify our souls and our flesh, and wash us from all our sins which we have done wittingly or unwittingly; grant us to offer before thee a reasonable oblation and an oblation of blessing, the which thou wilt make to enter in within the inner chamber of the veil, the holy of holies, thy dwelling place.[38]

¶ *And then he shall compass the tābōt three times saying*

We pray thee and beseech thee that thou remember the one holy apostolic Church, which reacheth from one end of the world to the other.

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Pray for the peace of the Church, one holy, apostolic, orthodox in the Lord.

¶ *The people shall say*

Κύριε ἐλέησον.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Lord have mercy upon us.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Remember, O Lord, the honoured father, our archpope abba *Matthew,* and the blessed pope abba *Peter,* remember all of them, the orthodox bishops, presbyters and deacons. *And if he, the archpope, be entered into rest he shall say,* Rest, my Lord, the soul of our father, the archpope abba *Matthew,* and make him to dwell in thy kingdom of heaven with thy righteous servants; seat for us on his throne in his stead a good shepherd, and let us not be like a flock having no shepherd, and let not the ravenous wolf make ravin of us, nor alien folk that are contrary to us reproach us. Arise, Lord, my God, and let thine enemies be scattered, and let all those who hate thine holy and blessed name flee before thee, but let thy people who do thy will be blessed with blessings, thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand; through thine only Son, through whom to thee with him and with the Holy Ghost be glory and dominion, both now and ever and world without end. Amen.[39]

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Stand up for prayer.

¶ *The people shall say*

Lord have mercy upon us.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Thou art the golden censer.[40]

¶ *And on every great day, and on the first day of the week, on the feast of Mary and on the feast of the Son*

We worship thee, Christ, with thy good heavenly Father and thine Holy Spirit, the life-giver, for thou didst come and save us.[41]

¶ *Three times*

¶ *The people shall say*

The Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, three in one.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Peace be unto thee, holy Church, dwelling place of the godhead.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Pray for us, Virgin Mary, parent of God.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Thou art the golden censer who didst bear the live coal of fire. Blessed is he who receiveth out of the sanctuary him who forgiveth sin and blotteth out error, who is God's Word who was made man of thee, who offered himself to his Father for incense and an acceptable offering. We worship thee, Christ, with thy good heavenly Father and thine Holy Ghost, the life-giver, for thou didst come and save us.

¶ *And then they shall go out to the door of the sanctuary and shall cense three times, and again he shall cense the bishop three times, he shall pass over and stand thus before the tābōt and say first*

Remember, O Lord, our father abba, *and again the same,* preserve him to us for many years and days of peace, *a third time he shall say,* let him trample our enemy under his feet, and let him intercede for us to the Lord, that he may cleanse us from our sins.

¶ *And then the priest shall cense in like manner and say*

I pray thee, O my father presbyter, remember me in thy prayer, this is my holiness, accept it.

¶ *After this he shall lay his hands upon the deacons and say the blessing of Paul, then he shall stretch his hand over the people*

The Lord bless.

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Stand up for prayer.

¶ *The people shall say*

The Lord have mercy upon us.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Peace be unto you all.

¶ *The people shall say*

With thy spirit.

⟨THE LECTIONS⟩

⟨1. The Epistle of St. Paul⟩

¶ *The assistant shall say*

Lord of knowledge and declarer of wisdom, who hast revealed to us what was hidden in the depth of darkness, giver of a word of gladness to those who proclaim the greatness[42] of thy power; thou it was, who of thy great goodness didst call Paul, who was a persecutor, and didst make him a chosen vessel, and wast well pleased with him that he should become an apostle, and a preacher of the gospel of thy kingdom and a herald, O Christ our God. Thou art a lover of man, O good one; vouchsafe us a mind without distraction, and a pure understanding that departeth not from thee, that we may both perceive and know how great is thine holy teaching, which is now read to us out of him; and as he was like to thee, O prince of life, so make us also to be like unto him in deed and in faith, and to praise thine holy name and to glory in thy precious[43] cross at all times; for thine is the kingdom, the might, the majesty and the sovereignty, the honour and the glory, world without end. Amen.

¶ *The priest shall say this, going round to the several doors*

Glory to the Holy Trinity, the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

¶ *The priest shall say, going forth again and entering at the right before the tābōt to the north*

Holy, holy, holy Lord of Sabaoth,
the heavens and the earth are wholly full of the
holiness of thy glory.[45]

¶ *And then he shall say*

Lord our God, who of old didst make the wall of Jericho to fall down by the hand of Joshua thy servant; in like manner now make the wall of sin of these thy servants and thine handmaids to fall down by the hand of me, thy servant *Walda George,* for ever and ever.

¶ *And while he is entering*

Hallelujah to the Father; hallelujah to the Son;
hallelujah to the Holy Ghost.
Come, fill thyself with it.

¶ *And he shall say*

Hail, O Mary, full of grace *three times.*

¶ *The priest*[1] *shall say*

The Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among women.

¶ *The priest*[2] *shall say*

And blessed is the fruit of thy womb.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Pray and intercede with thy beloved Son.

¶ *The priest*[3] *shall say*

That he forgive us our sins.

¶ *And then turning back towards the tābōt once, he shall offer incense upon the altar saying, after turning around*

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[1] The MSS. have "people."
[2] The MSS. place this phrase in the mouth of the priest.
[3] The MSS. have "people."

O accepter of penitence and remitter of sin, Jesus Christ, remit my sin and the sin of all thy people; accept the penitence of these thy servants and thine handmaids, and make the light of thy grace[44] to shine upon them for thine holy name's sake by which we are called; Jesus Christ our Lord and our king; through whom to thee with him and the Holy Ghost be glory and dominion, both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

¶ *The priest shall say going forth*

Everyone who loveth not our Lord Jesus Christ and believeth not in his birth of Mary the holy Virgin, in the two-fold *tābōt* of the Holy Ghost, pure and clean and set apart for the Lord until his coming again, as saith Paul, let him be anathema.

The Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians.[4]

Blessing be with the beloved *Walda George* for ever and ever, for even as thou art merciful unto him the Lord will be merciful unto thee; for he himself, our Lord Jesus Christ, the same night in which he was betrayed took bread, blessed and brake, and said to them, Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you; thus do for your happiness; and likewise the chalice after supper, and said to them, This is the chalice of the new covenant which is in my blood; this do as oft as ye drink of it in remembrance of me; for verily by this chalice ye do show forth the death of our Lord till he come. . . Whosoever eats of this food and drinks of this cup of our Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of Christ. But let a man prove himself, and so let him eat of the bread and drink of the cup; for he who eateth and drinketh, eateth and drinketh condemnation unto himself, if he discern not his body and is not pure in his[111] soul.

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[4] I Cor. 11: 23-29.

¶ *The priest shall say while entering*

The Blessing of the Father[46] and the Son and the gift of the Holy Ghost, who came down upon the apostles in the upper room of holy Sion, in like manner come down and be multiplied upon me and upon all of you. Amen.

¶ *The people shall say*

Holy apostle Paul, goodly messenger, healer of the sick, thou who hast received the crown; pray and intercede for us; cause our souls to be saved in the multitude of his loving-kindness and his mercy, for his holy name's sake.

⟨2. THE CATHOLIC EPISTLE⟩

¶ *The deacon shall say*
Stand up for prayer.

¶ *The people shall say*
Lord have mercy upon us.

¶ *The priest shall say*
Peace be unto you all.

¶ *The people shall say*
With thy spirit.

¶ *The priest shall say*

O eternal God, the first and the last, who hath neither beginning nor end, he who is great in his counsel and mighty in his work and wise in his purpose, who is in all things; we pray thee, O Lord and beseech thee, be with us in this hour, make thy face to shine upon us and abide with us in the midst of us; purify our hearts and sanctify our souls and remit our sin, which we have done wittingly or unwittingly; and make us, O Lord, to offer unto thee a pure oblation, a reasonable offering and spiritual incense; let it enter into the holy temple of thy holiness; through thine only Son our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, through whom to thee with him and with the Holy Ghost be glory and dominion, both now and ever and world without end. Amen.[47]

¶ *The subdeacon going out shall say*

The word from the Epistle of *Peter,* disciple and apostle of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ. His prayer and his blessing be with us. Amen.

¶ *And having read he shall say this*

Purity and tribute, light and exaltation, be to the Epistle of the Holy Ghost which came forth from the mouth of Peter, the rock of truth;[48] his blessing be with us for ever and ever. Amen.

¶ *And then he shall read this portion*[5]

Ye also as living stones[49] are built up a spiritual holy house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual holy[50] sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ; for it is written, Behold I lay in Zion a chief corner stone, elect, precious; and he who believeth on him shall not be put to shame.

¶ *And when he goes in the priest shall say*

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[5] I Pet. 2: 5-6.

O my brethren, love not the world, neither the things that are in the world; for all that is in the world, the lust of the eyes and the pride of life, is not of the Father but of the world; and the world and the lusts pass away, for all is passing; but he who doeth the good pleasure of God abideth for ever.

¶ *The deacon*[6] *shall say*

Holy consubstantial Trinity, preserve our congregation for thine holy elect disciples' sake; comfort us in thy loving-kindness for thine holy name's sake.

⟨3. The Acts of the Apostles⟩

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Stand up for prayer.

¶ *The people shall say*

Lord have mercy upon us.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Peace be unto you.[51]

¶ *The people shall say*

With thy spirit.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Our Lord and our God, thou it was who didst reveal to thine holy apostles the mystery of the glorious gospel of the Messiah, and didst give them the great and immeasurable gift that is of thy grace, and didst send them to proclaim in all the ends of the world the inscrutable riches of thy grace through thy mercy; we pray thee also and beseech thee, our Lord and our God, that thou wouldst make us meet for an inheritance and a portion with them, that we may walk in their ways and follow in their footsteps, and vouchsafe us at all times to imitate them, and to continue in their love and to have fellowship with them in their labour and godliness; and do thou keep thine holy Church which thou hast founded by their means, *he shall bless himself,* and bless the sheep of thy flock, *he shall bless,* thy people and increase this vine, *he shall bless the oblation,* which thou hast planted with thy holy right hand, *he shall bless the priesthood,* through our Lord Jesus Christ, our God, through whom to thee with him and with the Holy Ghost be glory and dominion, both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

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[6] Read "people" with the MSS.

¶ *The priest shall say*

A pure fountain which is from the pure fountain of the law, which is the history of the acts of the pure Apostles. Their prayer and their blessing be with us world without end. Amen.

And they called upon the Lord, beseeching Paul, all of them, that they might eat food, and he said to them, On the tenth and the fourth day since ye ate, on the day that ye ask me for food, anoint and make ready your souls, for that which is lacking in them will be a loss to yourselves; and having thus said he took the bread of the Lord, and giving thanks, he blessed and break before them, and took and ate, and they all rejoiced, and two hundred and seventy-seven souls were anointed and were satisfied.

¶ *And after reading he shall say*

Full and great and exalted is the word of the Lord, and it hath increased in the holy Church, and many are the people who believe in our Lord, to whom be glory world without end. Amen.

¶ *The priest[7] shall say*

Holy, Holy, Holy art thou, God the Father Almighty;
Holy, Holy, Holy art thou, only Son,
who art the living Word of the Father;
Holy, Holy, Holy art thou, Holy Ghost,
who knowest all things.

⟨THE INCENSE AND THE TRISAGION⟩

¶ *And then the priest shall cast the incense saying*

Glory and honour be to the Holy Trinity, the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

¶ *And then the priest shall say this prayer following, standing before the altar*

Lord our God, who didst accept [112] the sacrifice of Abraham, and in the stead of Isaac didst prepare and send down to him a ram for his ransom; even so, O Lord, accept from us our oblation and this savour of our incense, and send unto us from on high, in recompense thereof, the riches of thy loving-kindness and thy mercy, that we may become pure from all ill-savour of our sins; and make us meet to minister before thy glorious purity, O lover of man, in righteousness and in purity all the days of our life, in joy and in rejoicing.[52]

¶ *And then he shall compass the tābōt[53] three times saying*

We pray thee, O Lord, and beseech thee that thou remember, *as before.*[8]

¶ *The priest shall say*

Hail, O thou of whom we ask salvation, O holy, praiseful, ever-virgin parent of God, mother of Christ; offer up our prayer on high to thy beloved Son, Jesus, that he forgive our sins.

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[7] Read "people" with the MSS.

[8] Above p. 322, 2-4.

Hail, O thou who bearest for us the very light of righteousness, Christ our God; O Virgin pure, plead for us unto our Lord, that he shew mercy unto our souls and forgive us our sins.

Hail, O Virgin pure, Mary, holy parent of God, very pleader for the race of mankind, plead for us to Christ thy Son, that he vouchsafe us remission of our sins.

Hail, O pure Virgin, very queen; hail, O pride of our kind; hail, O thou who bearest for us Emmanuel; we pray thee that thou remember us, O very mediatress, before our Lord Jesus Christ, that he forgive us our sins.

¶ *As a substitute he shall say three times in a low tone*

He who raised himself at his resurrection is Christ; he hath raised the dead from death, and triumphed in death over those who were in the grave, and hath given them a life of eternal rest.

¶ *And then the priest shall go forth outside the veil, and shall chant alternately saying*

This is the time of blessing, this is the time of choice incense, the time of the praise of our Saviour, lover of man, Christ. The incense is Mary; the incense is he who was in her womb which is fragrant; the incense is he whom she bare; he came and saved us, the fragrant ointment of Jesus Christ. O come let us worship him and keep his commandments, that he forgive us our sins.

To Michael was given mercy, and glad tidings to Gabriel, and a heavenly gift to Mary Virgin. To our father Peter were given the keys, and virginity to John and apostleship to our father Paul, for he was the light of the Church.

The fragrant ointment is Mary; for he who was in her womb, who is more fragrant than all incense, came and was made flesh of her. In Mary, Virgin pure, the Father was well pleased, and he decked her for a tabernacle for the habitation of his well beloved Son.

To Moses was given the law, the priesthood to Aaron; to Zacharias the priest, was given the choice incense. They made the tabernacle of the testimony according to the word of the Lord, and Aaron the priest in the midst thereof made the choice incense to go up.

The seraphim worship him and the cherubim glorify him; they cry saying, Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord among the thousands, and praised among the tens of thousands.

Thou art the incense, O our Saviour, for thou didst come and save us.

Have mercy upon us.

¶ *The priest shall say in the tone of arārāy*[9]

Holy Lord, holy mighty, holy living immortal,
who was born of Mary the holy virgin,
have mercy upon us, O Lord.

Holy God, holy mighty, holy living immortal,
who was baptized in Jordan and was hung on
the tree of the cross,
have mercy upon us, O Lord.

Holy God, holy mighty, holy living immortal,
who rose from the dead the third day,

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[9] Nomen unius e tribus canendi modis, Dillmann, *Chrest. Aeth.*, 233.

ascended with glory into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of the Father,
shall come again with glory to judge the quick and the dead,
have mercy upon us, O Lord.

Glory be to the Father, glory be to the Son,
glory be to the Holy Ghost,
both now and ever and world without end.
Amen and Amen; so be it, so be it.[54]

¶ *The priest shall say*

Hail, O Mary, full of grace,
The Lord is with thee.
Blessed art thou among women,
and blessed is the fruit of thy womb.
Pray and intercede for us with thy beloved Son,
that he forgive our sins.[55]

¶ *And then he shall bless the chanting priests each in his turn*

¶ *The priest shall say*

Glory and honour.

⟨4. The Gospel⟩

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Stand up for prayer.

¶ *The people shall say*

Lord have mercy upon us.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Peace be unto you all.

¶ *The people shall say*

With thy spirit.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Lord, Lord, Jesus Christ our God, who saidst to thine holy disciples and thy pure apostles, Many prophets and righteous men have desired to see the things which ye see, and have not seen them, and have desired to hear the things which ye hear, and have not heard them; and blessed are your eyes that have seen and your ears that have heard; like them, do thou make us also meet to hear and to do the word of thine holy gospel, through the prayer of the saints.

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Pray on account of the holy Gospel.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Remember again, Lord, those who have bidden us to remember them in the time of our prayer and our supplication, wherewith we make request of thee, O Lord our God. Give rest to those who have fallen asleep before us; heal speedily those who are sick; for thou art the life of us all and the hope of us all, and the deliverer of us all and the raiser up of us all, and to thee we send thanksgiving unto the highest heaven, world without end.

¶ [10] *Before the Gospel, signifying what he is going to proclaim on the several days*

¶ *And the priest shall cast the incense once as before, blessing three times our sweet-smelling incense, after that he shall say this following*

Lord bless us all, and sanctify us with all spiritual blessing, and make our entry into his holy Church to be joined with his holy angels, who chant unto him with fear and with trembling and glorify him at all times and all hours, world without end.

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[10] "The deacon shall speak" from the MSS.

¶ *And he shall turn his face towards the Gospel and shall say this*

Lord, our God and our Saviour, lover of mankind, thou who didst send them to propagate thy holiness and to announce thy purity in all ends of the world, that they may proclaim the gospel of thy kingdom, and heal all sickness and misery among thy people, and tell to them the hidden secret which is from of old; now, O Lord, our God and our king, send upon us thy light and thy righteousness, and illuminate the eyes of our hearts and our understanding, and make us meet to hear with fortitude the word of thy holy gospel; not only that we may hear, but that we may also do; that thou mayest hear us, that we may bear good fruit, for one thirty-fold and sixty-fold and an hundred, for the sins of us thy people, who pray for the kingdom of heaven.

¶ *And then the priest shall compass the tābōt once with the taper before him*[56] *and the gospel behind him, and he shall say the Gospel; while making the sign of the cross he shall say*

Blessed be the Lord, the Father Almighty.

¶ *The assistant shall say*

Give thanks unto the Father.

¶ *The priest shall say*

And blessed be the only Son, our Lord Jesus Christ.

¶ *The assistant shall say*

Give thanks to the Son.

¶ *The priest shall say*

And blessed be the Holy Ghost the Paraclete.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Give thanks unto the Holy Ghost.

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Hallelujah. Stand up and hearken to the holy gospel, the message of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

¶ *The priest shall say*

The Lord be with you all.

¶ *The people shall say*

With thy spirit.

¶ *The priest shall say*

The holy gospel which Matthew preached, the word of the Son of God.

¶ *The people shall say*

Glory be to thee, Christ, my Lord and my God, at all times.

¶ *The people shall say*

Rejoice in God who hath helped us, and shout with joy unto the God of Jacob. Take the psalm, bring hither the tabret; the merry harp with the lute. *In Lent instead of* "Sing we merrily"; in the gospel thou hast shown us the way and in the prophets thou hast comforted us. O thou who hast brought us nigh unto thyself, glory be to thee. *And the people shall kiss the gospel by their several ranks, when he shall read the gospel.*

¶ *The assistant priest shall hold the gospel before the cross, and shall say this in a low voice*

O far from anger, and abundant in mercy, and righteous indeed, receive our prayer and our humility and our penitence, and our confession towards thy *tābōt* and thine holy altar, heavenly, stainless and spotless; make us meet to hear the word of thine holy gospel, and to keep thy commandments and thy testimony. Bless us that we may bear fruit, for one thirty-fold and sixty-fold and an hundred-fold.

Remember, Lord, the sick of thy people; visit them in thy loving-kindness and heal them.

Remember, Lord, our fathers and our brethren who are gone to sojourn abroad; bring them back to their dwelling place in safety and peace.

Remember, Lord, the seed and the fruit of the fields; make them abundant.

Remember, Lord, the sweetness of the airs and the fruits of the earth; bless them.

Remember, Lord, the safety of man and beast.

Remember, Lord, the safety of thine own Church and of all orthodox cities and countries.

Remember, Lord, our king *Menīlek,* lover of the Lord our God, and keep him in peace and in health.

Remember, Lord, our fathers and our brethren and our sisters, who have fallen asleep and are gone to their rest in the orthodox faith; give them rest.

Remember, Lord, those who have presented to thee this incense and oblation, and those also for whom they offered, and those who brought it from them; grant them all the recompense in heaven, and comfort them after all tribulation.

Remember, Lord, all captives and bring them again in peace to their cities.

Remember, Lord, thy poor servants who are awaiting trial.

Remember, Lord, the catechumens of thy people, and teach them and stablish them in the right faith; banish from their heart all remains of idolatry; stablish in their heart thy law and the fear of thee, thy commandment and thy righteousness and thine ordinance; grant them to know the certainty of thy word wherein they have been instructed; and when they have been instructed, make them all meet for the new birth and for the remission of their sin, and prepare them to be a *tābōt* for thine Holy Ghost; through the grace and loving-kindness of thine only Son, lover of man, our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, through whom to thee with him and with the holy life-giver, who is co-equal with these, both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

¶ *The assistant priest shall say*

Praise be to thee.

¶ *The priest who reads the gospel shall say*

Εὐλογίος (sic!) Χριστός.

¶ *While finding the place which he shall read he shall say*

Bless, O Lord, the reading of the Gospel of N., the disciple and apostle of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God; through whom to thee be glory continually, world without end. Amen.

¶ *And then the priest shall read the gospel and after the reading of the gospel distinguishing the several gospels*

Matthew's: heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away, said the Lord to his disciples.

Mark's: he who hath ears to hear, let him hear.

Luke's: it is easier for heaven and earth to pass than for one tittle of the law and the prophets to fail, said the Lord to his disciples.

John's: he who believeth on the Son hath everlasting life.

¶ *The priest shall say at each Gospel in tone as follows*

Matthew's: we believe in the very Father, and we believe in the very Son, and we believe in the very Holy Ghost.

Mark's: they, the cherubim and seraphim, offer up glory to him saying, Holy, Holy, Holy art thou, Lord, the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost.

Luke's: who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods? Thou it is who doest wonders; thou didst show thy power unto thy people, and didst save thy people with thine arm; thou wentest into Hades and broughtest up thence those who were in captivity, and didst desire us again to be set free, for thou didst come and save us. For this cause we glorify thee, saying, blessed art thou, our Lord Jesus Christ, for thou didst come and save us.

John's: In the beginning was the Word; the Word was the Word of God; the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us and we beheld his glory as of the only-begotten of his Father; the living Word of the Father and the life-giving Word, the Word of God, rose again and his flesh was not corrupted.

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Go forth, ye catechumens.

¶ *The priest shall say this prayer, which is St. Basil's, in a low voice before the tābōt*

Lord our God, who by reason of thine unspeakable love towards mankind, didst send thine only Son into the world to bring back unto thee the lost sheep; we beseech thee, O our master, turn us not back as we draw nigh to this awful sacrifice, without defilement and trusting not in our own righteousness but on thy mercy wherewith thou hast loved our race; we pray and beseech of thy goodness, O lover of man, that this mystery, when thou has prepared it for our salvation, be not to us thy servants and all thy people for condemnation, but that it may be profitable for the blotting out of our transgression and the forgiveness of our negligence. Glory and honour be to thine holy name, both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

⟨MASS OF THE FAITHFUL⟩

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Stand up for prayer.

¶ *The people shall say*

The Lord have mercy upon us.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Peace be unto you all.

¶ *The people shall say*

With thy spirit.

¶ *And the priest shall say*

Again let us beseech the almighty Lord, the Father of the Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ;[57] we ask and we entreat of thy goodness, O lover of man, remember, O Lord, the peace of the Church, holy, one, apostolic, which reacheth from one end of the world to the other.

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Pray for the peace of the one, holy, apostolic Church, orthodox in the Lord.

¶ *The priest shall say*

All the people and all the flocks bless thou; the peace that is from heaven send thou into the hearts of us all, and the peace of our life vouchsafe therein. Vouchsafe peace to our king *Menīlek,* to his palace and to his armies, and to his princes and to his nobles, and (to) the multitude of our neighbours abroad and at home; adorn them[58] with all peace. O king of peace, give us thy peace for thou hast given us all things; possess us, O Lord, and requite us, for beside thee we know none other; we make mention of thy holy name and call upon it, that our soul may live through the Holy Ghost, and that the death of sin may not have dominion over us thy servants and all thy people.

¶ *The people shall say*

Κύριε ἐλέησὸν.

¶ *The deacon shall say*[59]

Stand up for prayer.

¶ *The people*[60] *shall say*

Lord have mercy upon us.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Peace be unto you all.

¶ *The people shall say*

With thy spirit.

And again let us beseech[57] the almighty Lord, the Father of the Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, for our blessed pope, abba *Matthew,* that he truly preserve him to us for many years and for peaceful days, that he may fulfil the office of the priesthood which thou hast committed[61] unto him. The Lord our God who is rich in grace vouchsafe it.

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Pray for our archpope,[62] abba *Matthew,* lord archbishop of the great city of Alexandria, and for the head of the city of our fathers, the blessed pope abba *Peter,* and all orthodox bishops, presbyters and deacons.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Lord our God who art almighty, we pray and beseech thee for the blessed pope, abba *Peter,* that thou truly preserve him to us for many years and for peaceful days, that he may fulfil the office of the priesthood which thou hast committed unto him,[61] with all orthodox bishops, presbyters and deacons, and with all the entire congregation of the one holy catholic Church; and the prayer[63] also which he shall make on our behalf and the behalf of all thy people, do thou accept; open to him the treasure-house of thy blessing. Furthermore, vouchsafe him abundantly the grace of the Holy Ghost,[64] pour upon him from heaven thy blessing, that he may bless thy people; and all his enemies, visible and invisible, do thou subdue and bruise under his feet shortly; but himself do thou still preserve unto us in righteousness and in peace, unto thine holy Church, in praise and in thy priesthood;[65] through thine only Son, through whom to thee with him and with the Holy Ghost be glory and dominion, both now and ever and world without end. Amen.[66]

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Stand up for prayer.

¶ *The people shall say*

Lord have mercy upon us.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Peace be unto you all.

¶ *The people shall say*

With thy spirit.

¶ *The priest shall say*

And again let us beseech[57] the Almighty Lord, the Father of the Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ; we pray and implore of thy goodness, O lover of man; remember, O Lord, our congregation; bless thou them *once he shall bless with the figure of the sign of the cross towards the people.*

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Pray for the holy Church and our congregation therein, our congregation bless, preserve in peace.

¶ *The priest shall say*

And make them to be to thee without intermission and without hindrance, doing thine holy and blessed will; an house of prayer, an house of purity, and an house of blessing vouchsafe, O Lord, unto us thy servants, and to those who shall come after us unto eternal days vouchsafe it.

And the priest shall proceed, the assistant censing the altar, saying, Arise, O Lord my God, and let thine enemies be scattered and let all those who hate thine holy and blessed name flee before thee; *while speaking he shall sign with the censer over the people and bow three times,* but let thy people be blessed with blessings a thousand thousand, and ten thousand times ten thousand, who do thy will for ever and ever; through the grace and loving-kindness of the lover of man, thine only Son our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, through whom to thee be glory and blessing and befitting greatness with him and with the Holy Ghost, the life-giver, both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

⟨THE CREED⟩

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Speak we all in the wisdom of the Lord. Answer ye the prayer of faith.

⟨THE LAVABO⟩

¶ *And then the assistant presbyter shall take away the covering of the paten with his hand. And then he shall wash his hands saying*

If there is any who is pure let him receive of the host, and whoso is not pure let him not receive, that he be not consumed in the fire of sin which is prepared for Satan and for his angels. Whoso hath revenge in his heart and whoso hath an alien mind and unchaste:—

¶ *and after washing his hand while he sprinkles water with the moisture of his hand towards the people he shall say thus*

Cleanse thou my hands from external pollution, for I am pure from the blood of you all, and from your sacrilege[67] against the body and the blood of Christ; and I have nought to do with your reception thereof;[68] I am pure of your error, and your sin will return upon your own head if ye receive not in purity.

¶ *After he has washed he shall say this*

O my Lord and my God, maker of order and giver of peace and love, drive away from me every thought of evil, revenge, and hatred, and all evil concupiscence of the body; apportion me with thy holy servants, join me with those who are pleasing to thee in their life, in the time of love and peace; for thou who didst come down from heaven, wilt give peace to all those of thy people who listen and comprehend; that they may praise thee, for to thee be praise for ever and ever. Amen.

¶ *The deacon shall say*

If there be any who contemns this word of the presbyter, or who is rude, or who says or presumes to say that my God, Christ, is moved against him with evil instead of blessing, or malediction and anger instead of deliverance from Gehenna, then[69] let him depart from the Lord.

⟨THE KISS OF PEACE⟩

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Stand up for prayer.

¶ *The people shall say*

Lord have mercy upon us.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Peace be unto you all.

¶ *The people shall say*

With thy spirit.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Lord, great, eternal, who hast found man incorrupt, who didst abolish death, that came at first into the world through the envy of Satan, by the advent of thy living only begotten Son, our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, and didst fill all the earth with thy peace which is from heaven, wherein the armies of heaven glorify thee, saying, Glory to God in heaven, and on earth peace, his goodwill towards man.

¶ *The people*[70] *shall say in like manner*

¶ *The priest shall say*

O Lord, in thy good will fill all our hearts, and purify all of us from all filthiness and from all lasciviousness, and from all revenge and envy, and from all wrongdoing and from the remembrance and from the association of ill which clothes us with death.

Make us all meet that we may salute one another with an holy kiss.

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Pray for perfect peace and love. Salute one another with an holy kiss.

¶ *Then they shall salute one another*

¶ *The people shall say*

Christ our God, make us meet that we may salute one another with an holy kiss.

¶ *The priest shall say*

And to partake without condemnation of thine holy, immortal, heavenly gift; through Jesus Christ, through whom to thee with him and with the Holy Ghost be glory and dominion, both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

The prayer of faith of the 318 Orthodox

We believe in one God, the Lord, the Father Almighty, the eternal maker of the heavens and the earth, the visible and the invisible.

And we believe in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only Son of the Father, who was with him before the world was created, light of light, God of very God, begotten not made, equal with the Father in his godhead; by whom all things were made, but without him was not anything made, neither in heaven nor in earth; who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnate of the Holy Ghost and of Mary, of the holy Virgin; he was made man and was crucified for us in the days of Pontius Pilate, he suffered and died and was buried, and rose again from the dead the third day, as it is written in the holy scriptures; he ascended with glory into the heavens and sat down on the right hand of his Father; he shall come again with glory to judge the quick and the dead, and of his kingdom there shall be no end.

And we believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord, the giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father; we worship and glorify him with the Father and the Son; who spake by the prophets; and we believe in one holy Church, catholic, apostolic; and we believe in one baptism for the remission of sin: and we look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life to come world without end. Amen.

⟨ANAPHORA⟩

⟨THE THANKSGIVING⟩

¶ *The priest shall say*

The Lord be with you all.

¶ *The people shall say*

With thy spirit.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Give ye thanks unto our God.

¶ *The people shall say*

It is right, it is meet.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Lift up your hearts.

¶ *The people shall say*[71]

We have them unto the Lord our God.

¶ *And then he shall bless once towards the people and once towards the height*[72]

THE ANAPHORA OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES, WHOSE PRAYERS AND PRAISE ARE WITH US FOR EVER AND EVER. AMEN.

We give thee thanks, O Lord, in thy beloved Son, our Lord Jesus, whom in the last days thou didst send unto us, thy Son, the Saviour and Redeemer, the Angel of thy counsel, who is the Word from thee, and through whom thou madest all things by thy will.

⟨THE INTERCESSION⟩

¶ *The deacon shall say*

For the sake of our blessed and holy archpope, abba *Peter,* and the blessed pope, abba *Matthew,* while they yet give thee thanks in their prayer and in their supplication; Stephen, the protomartyr, Zacharias, the priest, and John the Baptist; for the sake of all the saints and martyrs who have gained their rest in the faith; Matthew and Mark, Luke and John, the four evangelists; Mary the parent of God, hear us. (For the sake of) Peter and Andrew, James and John, Philip and Bartholomew, Thomas and Matthew, Thaddeus and Nathaniel, and James the Apostle the son of Alpheus and Matthias, the twelve apostles; and James the apostle, the brother of our Lord, the bishop of Jerusalem; Paul, Timothy, Silas, and Barnabas, Titus, Philemon and Clement, the seventy-two disciples, the five hundred companions, the three hundred and eighteen Orthodox; may the prayers of them all come unto us and with them do thou visit us.

And remember thou the whole catholic apostolic Church in peace, which was made by the precious blood of Christ.

Remember thou all archpopes, popes, bishops, presbyters and deacons who direct the way of the Word in truth.

¶ *The assistant shall go around, the priest shall say*

O Holy Trinity, Father and Son and Holy Ghost, bless them, *the priest shall say,* thy people, Christians beloved and earthly, *while he turns to speak the assistant shall say,* bless thou and send upon us the grace of the Holy Ghost, and make the doors of thine holy Church to open unto us in thy mercy and in faithfulness; and perfect unto us in the faith of holiness unto the last breath.

O my Lord Jesus Christ, visit the sick of thy people, and heal them, and guard our fathers and our brothers who have gone forth[73] and are travelling abroad, and bring them back to their dwelling in peace and in health.

Bless the airs of heaven and the rains and the fruits of the earth of this year according to thy grace, and make joy and gladness perpetual on the face of the earth, and establish to us[74] thy peace.

Turn the heart of mighty kings to deal kindly with us always. Give favour to the elders of thy holy Church all the time to all, to each by their several names in the presence of powerful kings; our God lift them up.

And rest the souls of our fathers and our brothers and our sisters, who have fallen asleep and gained their rest in the true faith.

And bless those who occupy themselves with the incense and oblation, and the coins and the oil and the chrism, and the veils and the books of the lessons of the sanctuary, and the vessels of the sanctuary, that Christ our God bring them to the heavenly Jerusalem.

And all those who are assembled with us to entreat for mercy; Christ, our God, be propitious unto them, and all those who give alms before thine awful and terrible throne, and receive them.

And lift up every straitened soul, and those who are bound in chains, and those who are in exile and captivity and those who are held, that we may remember them in the time of our prayer, and we beseech thee remember them in thy heavenly Kingdom; and drive away from me sin; remember me thy work.

O Lord, save thy people and bless thine heritage, govern them and lift them up for ever.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Have mercy on them, O Lord, and be propitious to our archpopes, bishops, presbyters, and deacons, and all thy Christian people.

¶ *The priest shall say*

For us and for them all, rest their souls and be propitious unto them, thou who sentest thy Son from heaven into the bosom of the Virgin. He was carried in the womb, was made flesh, and his birth was revealed of the Holy Ghost.

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Ye who sit, stand up.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Unto thee before whom stand a thousand thousands, and ten thousand times ten thousand, the holy angels and thine honourable creatures that have six wings, the seraphim and the cherubim.

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Look to the east.

¶ *The priest shall say*

With two of their wings they cover their face, with two of their wings they cover their feet, and with two of their wings they fly from end to end of the world.

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Let us give heed.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Continually, therefore, as they all[75] hallow thee and praise, with all those who hallow thee and praise thee, receive our hallowing also which we utter unto thee,

Holy, Holy, Holy Lord of Sabaoth,
the heavens and the earth are wholly full of the
holiness of thy glory.[76]

¶ *The priest shall say*

The heavens and the earth are full of the holiness of thy glory, O our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, thine only Son. He came and was born of the Virgin that he might fulfil thy[77] will and make a people for thee.

¶ *The people shall say*

Remember us, O Lord, in thy kingdom; remember us, O Lord, O master, in thy kingdom;[78] remember us, O Lord, in thy kingdom, as thou rememberedst the thief on the right when thou wast on the tree of the holy cross.

¶ *The assistant priest shall turn around, shall cast the incense, and shall bring near the censer and shall cense*

¶ *The priest shall say*

He stretched out his hands to the passion, suffering to save the sufferers who trust in him; who was delivered of his own will to the passion, that he might abolish death and burst the bond of Satan and trample on *Sheol* and lead forth our saints, establishing a covenant which shall make known his resurrection.

⟨INSTITUTION⟩

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Lift up your hands, ye presbyters. In the same night in which they betrayed him he took bread in his holy hands which were without spot and blessed.

¶ *The priest shall say*

He took bread.

¶ *The people shall say*

We believe that this is in truth; we believe.

¶ *The priest shall say*

He looked up to heaven toward thee, toward his Father; he gave thanks.

¶ *The priest shall say*

He blessed and brake, *and then he shall break the bread into five parts, but not separating,* and he gave to his disciples and he said to them, Take, eat, this bread is my body, *while he shall break it with the spear,* which is broken for you for the forgiveness of sins. *The people shall say,* Amen, Amen, Amen, we believe and confess, we praise thee, our Lord and our God, that this is true we believe. And likewise also the cup, giving thanks, he blessed it and hallowed it, *benediction over the cup,* and he gave it to his disciples, and he said to them, Take, drink, this cup is my blood, *pointing,* which is shed for you and for many, *shaking the cup while he points at the cross*

¶ *The people shall say*

Amen, Amen, Amen, we believe and we confess.

¶ *The priest shall say*

And as often as ye do this, make ye memorial of me.

¶ *The people shall say*

We show thy death, O Lord, and thine holy resurrection; we believe thine ascension; and thy coming again; we praise thee and confess thee; we supplicate thee and confess thee, our Lord and our God.

⟨THE INVOCATION⟩

¶ *The priest shall say*

Now also, Lord, remembering thy death and thy resurrection, we confess thee and offer unto thee this, *pointing,* bread and this cup, giving thanks unto thee; and thereby thou hast made us meet to stand before thee and do thee priestly service.[79] We pray thee, O Lord, and beseech thee, that thou wouldst send thy Holy Ghost [80] and power upon this bread and upon this cup. May he make it for the body and blood of our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ for ever and ever.

¶ *Then he shall bless the bread once, and the rest once*

¶ *The people shall say*

Amen; O Lord have mercy upon us, O Lord have mercy upon us, and be propitious unto us.

¶ *The deacon shall say*

With all our hearts we beseech the Lord our God, that he vouchsafe unto us the good communion of the Holy Ghost.

¶ *The people shall say*

As it was, is, and shall be unto generations of generations world without end.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Truly the body and blood even to his hands and feet.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Give it altogether unto all those who take of it, that it be unto them for sanctification and for fulfilling with the Holy Ghost, and for confirming true faith, that they may hallow and praise thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ, with the Holy Ghost.

¶ *The people shall say*

Amen.

¶ *The people shall say*

Grant us to be united in thine Holy Ghost, and heal us by this *presphōrā,* that we may live in thee for ever world without end. Blessed be the name of the Lord and blessed be he who cometh in the name of the Lord, and let the name of his glory be blessed. So be it; so be it; blessed; so be it.

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Send the grace of the Holy Ghost upon us.

¶ *The priest shall say in like manner*

¶ *The priest shall say the prayer of the Fraction*

I adore thee, O Lord my God, Almighty, eternal, who sittest above the cherubim and seraphim, and who givest rest unto the world, who hast shown to us the hidden mystery on the tree of the cross; for who is a God merciful and holy like thee; who art powerful and givest to thy apostles who minister to thee a sweet savour, thou, O our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, the Almighty Lord our God.

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Pray ye.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Lord our God, Almighty, we pray and beseech thee, who art powerful and art not far from us, forasmuch as thou didst give authority to the apostles who minister unto thee in sincerity of heart, and to those who offer unto thee a sweet savour, for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ, both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

¶ *The priest shall say. And they shall say, the assistant presbyter, the presbyter, and the deacon and all the people in turn three times*

¶ *The priest shall say*

The hosts of the angels of the Saviour of the world, io, io, io, stand before the Saviour of the world and encompass the Saviour of the world, io, io, io, even the body and the blood of the Saviour of the world. And let us come before the face of the Saviour of the world, io, io, io, in the faith of him the apostles followed his steps.

⟨THE INCLINATION⟩

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Standing, bow down your head the while.

¶ *The assistant shall turn around; while he comes in, he shall open the door of the prince*

¶ *The priest shall say*

Lord, who knowest the heart which is hidden and which is manifest, before thee thy people have bowed down their head, and unto thee have subdued the hardness of heart and flesh; behold from heaven thy dwelling place; bless thou men and women; incline thine ear unto them and hearken unto their prayer; stablish them with thy right hand, protect and succour them from evil affliction, be a guardian to them, be to our body and to ourselves the faith and fear of thy name, through thine only Son, world without end.

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Worship the Lord with fear.

¶ *The people shall say*

Before thee, O Lord, we worship and thee we glorify.

¶ *The priest shall say the prayer of penitence*

O Lord God, Father Almighty, eternal, it is thou who healest our soul and our body and our spirit, because thou saidst by the mouth of thine only Son, our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, which thou spakest to our father *Peter*. Thou art a rock, I will build it for mine holy Church,[81] and unto thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven; what thou hast bound on earth shall be bound in heaven, and what thou hast loosed on earth shall be loosed in heaven; let all thy servants and thine handmaids, according to their several names, be loosed and absolved by the Holy Ghost and by the mouth of my humility, me, thy sinful and guilty servant, and let them be loosed and set free out of the mouth of the Holy Trinity, the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, and out of the mouth of me also thy sinful and guilty servant, O merciful [one] and clement and lover of man, Lord our God, who takest away the sin of the world and receive the penitence of thy servants and thine handmaids and make to arise upon them the light of everlasting life, and forgive them, O Lord, their sins, for thou art good and a lover of man. O Lord our God, clement, long-suffering and plenteous in mercy and righteous, forgive my sins and all those of thy servants, and deliver them from all transgression and curse, if we have transgressed against thee, O Lord, whether in our word or in our deed or in our thought, pardon and forgive, be propitious and remit, for thou art good and a lover of man. O Lord our God, forgive us, free us, loose us, and remove from us, and all thy people, loose them and us from sin committed against thee; loose us.

¶ *And then he shall turn his face towards the people and sign them three times, and shall make mention of those who are with him. And again he shall say*

Remember, O Lord, the sacred father archpope, abba *Matthew,* and our blessed pope, abba *Peter;* O our God, preserve in righteousness their memory to us for many years and long days.

Remember our king, *Menīlek,* and the representative of our king, *Takla Hāimānōt,* and loose him from all the chains of sin which he hath committed wittingly or unwittingly; subdue his adversaries and enemies under his feet shortly.

Remember, O Lord, archpopes, popes, bishops, presbyters and deacons and subdeacons, anagnosts, and singers, men and women, adults and children and all Christian people, and confirm them in the faith of Christ.

Remember, O Lord, and loose all those who are asleep and resting in the right faith, lay their souls in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; and us also deliver from every transgression and curse, and from all apostasy and from all error, and from mingling with heresy and pollution. Give us, O Lord, wisdom and strength of understanding and knowledge, that we may depart and flee for evermore from every work of Satan, the tempter; grant us, O Lord, to do thy good pleasure at all times, and write our names in the book of life in heaven with all the righteous and martyrs, through Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom to thee with him and with the Holy Ghost be glory and dominion, both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

⟨MANUAL ACTS⟩

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Give we heed.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Holiness to the holies.

¶ *The priest*[82] *shall say*

One is the holy Father, one is the holy Son, one is the Holy Ghost.

¶ *The priest shall say*

The Lord be with you all.

¶ *The people shall say*

With thy spirit.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Lord have mercy on us, Christ, *three times; with a low voice forty-two*[83] *times, the same.*[84]

¶ *And then the deacon shall dip in the blood and shall make the sign, and with the blood he shall make the sign on the body and again he shall sign on the blood*

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Prayer.

Ye who are in penitence bow down your head.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Lord, our God, upon those who are in penitence have mercy upon them, according to the multitude of thy mercy blot out their sins guard them and keep them from all evil; redeem in peace their souls. Cutting short their former conversation, join them with thine holy Church; through grace and through the loving-kindness of this thine only Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom to thee with him and with the Holy Ghost be glory and dominion, both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

⟨THE CONSIGNATION AND COMMUNION⟩

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Stand up for prayer.

¶ *The people shall say*

Lord have mercy upon us.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Peace be to you all.

¶ *The people shall say*

With thy spirit.

¶ *The priest shall say*

This is the body, holy, true, of our Lord and of our Saviour and our God, Jesus Christ, which is given for life and for salvation, unto those who partake of it in faith.

¶ *The people shall say*

Amen.

¶ *The priest shall say*

This is the blood, precious, true, of our Lord and God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, which is given for life and for salvation and for remission of sin unto those who receive it in faith.

¶ *The people shall say*

Amen.

¶ *The priest shall say*

For this is the body and blood of Emmanuel, our very God.

¶ *The people shall say*

Amen.

¶ *The priest shall say*

I believe, I believe, I believe, and confess to the last, that this is the body and blood of our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ in truth, which he took of the lady of us all, the holy and pure Virgin Mary, and made it one with his godhead without mixture and confusion without division or alteration; and he verily confessed with a good testimony in the days of Pontius Pilate, and he gave it up for our sake on the tree of the holy cross of his own sole will for the life of us all.

¶ *The people shall say*

Amen.

¶ *The priest shall say*

I believe, I believe, I believe, that his godhead was not divided from his manhood one hour nor for the twinkling of an eye, but he gave it up for our sake, for life and for salvation and for remission of sin unto those who partake of it in faith.

¶ *The people*[85] *shall say*

Amen.

¶ *The priest shall say*

I believe, I believe, I believe, that this is true, that this is the body and blood of our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ in truth, to whom are fitting honour and glory and adoration, to the Holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, co-equal at all times both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

Prayer after placing the oblation

¶ *They shall all say*

Truly, my Lord Jesus Christ, it in no wise beseemeth thee to come into my polluted soul, for I have stirred thee to anger and done evil in thy sight, and have polluted my soul and my body and I have done no good at all. But for the sake of thy being made and thy becoming man for my salvation, for the sake of thy precious cross and for the sake of thy life-giving death and resurrection on the third day, I pray thee and beseech thee that thou wouldst purge me from all sin and curse; when I have received thine holy mystery let it not be unto me for judgment nor for nodding, but only have mercy upon me and be propitious unto me, and grant me remission for sin and life eternal through the petition of holy Mary, of John the Baptist, and all the saints and angels, and all the martyrs and good witnesses world without end. Behold thy Son, the oblation which is well pleasing to thee, because for my sake thy Son died and, because of this, pardon my sin by certain of thy works. Behold the pure blood which was poured out for my sake upon Golgotha, let it cry aloud in my stead. This blood—*speaking*—shall be a healing of my sin by certain of thy works; receive my petition for my sake and for the sake of him, thy beloved, who received the spear and the nails. He suffered that he might be well pleasing unto thee. After I was saved, Satan returned and pierced me through with his darts. Grant me, O Lord, thy mercy, for he who summoneth to judgment is mighty and for this sin he may slay me. But avenge me of the audacious one, who is insatiable even for my life. Thou, Lord, king and Saviour, bind up my wound which they gave his holy body (*in the Ḳeddāsē of the Lord*), the body of our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ which is of the Holy Ghost, to hallow body, soul and spirit, (*and in the Ḳeddāsē of the Apostles*) the bread of life which came down from heaven, the body of Christ, (*in the Ḳeddāsē of the Elders*) the holy body of Emmanuel our very God, which he took of the lady of us all.

¶ *And he who receiveth shall say*

Amen.

¶ *Shall say this prayer; when he receives this in his mouth he shall say*

Holy, Holy, Holy, Trinity ineffable, grant me that I receive unto life this body and blood without condemnation. Grant me that I bring forth fruit well-pleasing unto thee, to the end that I may appear in thy glory and live unto thee doing thy will, with confession calling upon thee, Father, and calling upon thy kingdom; hallowed be thy name with me; for mighty art thou, praised and glorious, and thine is the glory, world without end.

Of our fathers the apostles, we believe in one God, maker of all creation, our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, for he was not created like as we have already said, but he existed in all times without beginning and without end; and in him was the light which goes not out and no one is able to approach it. He was not with others, he did not add to himself, but he was one alone who inhabited eternity, for he was not known of him who does not know, alone but real to those who know him in reading and in prophecy, for he is almighty and powerful and over all creation; one God, the Father of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who was brought forth before the creation of the world. There is one who is equal with him, the creator of the universe, and of the offices and orders to which he had favour. He became man in the last days and took up flesh of Mary, the Virgin, without the seed of man, and he was nurtured with man without sin and crime and without fraud in his mouth. Then he suffered and died in body; he rose again on the third day and ascended into heaven and sat on the right hand of the power, and he sent to us the Paraclete who came forth from the Father; and he who is with the Father and the Son shall free us forever. We say, therefore, that the Lord brought forth all good creation, spirit, life, body, and that which is good in all. We say that the marriage is pure and undefiled and not unclean, for God created them Adam and Eve, that they might multiply people. We say, therefore, that he is our body and soul, for he did not die and did not repudiate the body; for we believe that we take all their deeds upon us, and all creation; but the law was perverted by impure words. Again, we believe that the just dead shall be raised, and sinners and transgressors shall be punished according to their deeds. Again, we believe that Christ was not nurtured of woman and was not mated; but it was the Word of God which became man in righteousness, and he alone joined man with God, a high-priesthood of his Father. He was not circumcised, as were the Jews. We believe that he came to fulfil scripture, the prophets, and all which promised his coming to the people; Jesus Christ who sprang from the Jews, from the Branch of Isaiah, the power of the blood of his shoulder, to him be honour and praise and power, both now and ever and world without end.

¶ *And after the prayer, he who hath received shall eat. The assistant priest shall say while he administereth*

This is the cup of life which came down from heaven, the precious blood of Christ.

¶ *And then here, he who administereth shall say this prayer silently, the power of blood being in his mouth*

O my Lord and my God, behold I have received thy pure body and thy precious blood for the forgiveness of my sins and for the remission of my error besides, and, O lover of man, fill my mouth with thy praise, for thou art praised; for our salvation is in this thy name for ever and ever.

¶ *Again*

To thee, my God Jesus Christ, who hast given to all of us equality one with another on account of certain of thy deeds, we praise thee and beseech thee that we may be in thy flock, and number us with thy sheep and accept us now and do not remember against us our error of the past; we are thankful for the grace which thou hast given us and for thy help, for thou hast been with us.

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Pray ye for us, and for all Christians who bid us make mention of them in the peace, and in the love of Jesus Christ; praise ye and sing.

¶ *Then they shall sing*

¶ *The priest shall say as he goeth out*

Those[86] whom thou hast called, Lord, and whom thou hast sanctified make partakers in thy calling[87] and keep them in thy strength and confirm them in thy love and keep them in thy praise in thine eternal kingdom from all; the good deed has united us with thine only Son.

¶ *And after the people have received*

Lord, eternal light of life, thou hast given us, O Lord, thy servants and thine handmaids, strength and protection during the days and nights past, keeping [us] in peace; bless on the day that now is, and on those that shall come hereafter.

⟨THANKSGIVING⟩

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Let us give thanks unto the Lord, after taking of his holy thing, that what we have received may be medicine for the soul's life, let us ask and entreat while we praise the Lord our God.

¶ *The people*[11] *shall say*

My mouth shall speak the praise of the Lord, and all my flesh shall give thanks unto his holy name for ever and ever.

¶ *The people shall say*

Our Father who art in heaven, lead us not, O Lord, into temptation.

¶ *The deacon shall say*

We have received of his holy body, and this is the blood of Christ.

¶ *The priest shall say as before three times*

¶ *The deacon shall say*

And let us give thanks unto him who maketh us meet to communicate in the precious and holy mystery.

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[11] Probably, the "priest."

¶ *The priest shall say, whoever is a 'Esel*[88] *let him say*

I exalt thee, O God my king, and I will praise thy name for ever and ever.[89]

¶ *The priest shall say to every 'Esel who is at the feast of our Lady or at the nine feasts of our Lord or at the 'Ehud feast*

¶ *The priest shall say going around, breathing*

And again we beseech thee, Lord Almighty, Father of the Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ;[90] we give thee thanks for that thou hast granted us to take of thine holy mystery. Let it not be unto guilt nor unto judgment but unto renewing of soul and body and spirit, through thine only Son, through whom to thee with him and with the Holy Ghost be glory and dominion, both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

Praise and reverence to the Holy Ghost; peace and life may he give us, *bringing over the incense and censing,* Hallelujah, Hallelujah. Blessed, holy be the Church with us in full, as it was and shall be with us.

¶ *The priest shall say*

Hallelujah, Hallelujah, Our Father who art in heaven. Hallowed, be thy name; medicine to us for our sin, lead us not into temptation, O Lord, deliver us from the day of evil and free us from all temptation.

¶ *The priest shall say while filling it and cleansing it and giving thanks*

⟨THE INCLINATION⟩

Imposition of hands.

Lord, light of life unquenchable, look upon thy servants and thine handmaids, and sow in their hearts the fear of thy name; in blessing bear fruit, and number them for that which in thine own name hath been given unto them, even thy body and thy blood. And let that which dwells over them be upon those who have bowed down their heads before thee, thy people, men and women, adults and children, virgins and monks. And us also here unite, protect and succour and strengthen with the strength of thy holy angels; and from every evil work turn us away; in every good[91] work join us with thine only Son; through whom to thee with him and with the Holy Ghost be glory and dominion, both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

¶ *The assistant shall say*

And keep them in the right faith, in glory and honour all the days of their life, and endue them with love and peace, which is exalted above all understanding and above all wisdom.

By the intercession and by the supplication which the Lady of us all, the holy Mother of God and the immaculate Mary, maketh on our behalf,[92] and by the four luminaries, Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Suriel, and by the four incorporeal creatures, and the twenty-four priests of heaven, and our holy fathers of exalted memory, the chief of the fathers, Isaac, and Jacob and St. John the Baptist, and by the one hundred and forty-four thousand babes, and our fathers, the elders, the apostles; the seventy-two disciples, and St. Mark the Evangelist, apostles and martyrs, the three hundred and eighteen Orthodox who were at Nicea, the one hundred and fifty bishops in the province of Constantinople, the two hundred Ephesians, holy children, St. Stephen, the head of deacons and first martyr, St. George and St. Theodore the illuminator, and St. Mercury and St. Mennas and St. Auwetos, and St. Mermehnām and St. Kirkōs, and St. Theodore and St. Manādelēwōs,[93] and St. Claudius and St. Philotheus, and St. Basilides, and St. Victor, and St. Abli and St. Esderos, and holy abba Nob, virgin and martyr singular, Eleazar, the warrior, and all the martyrs, and the chief of the fathers, the elect father of Abib and righteous father Anthony and our holy fathers the three Macarii, and our father abba John Hedīr, and our father abba Besōi, and our father abba John Kamā,[94] and righteous abba Būl, and our father abba Pachomius, and our father abba Barsūmā, and our father abba Sinōdā, and our father St. Arsenius, and St. Theodore, son of Pachomius, and our father abba Agtōn, and our father Palmān, our father abba Kīrōs, and our fathers abba Sanael, Gedmāwī, and our Roman fathers, Maximus and Demetrius, the strong and holy abba Moses the black, forty-nine martyrs and all those who wear the cross, righteous and warriors, martyrs and the elect, angels and the angel of this blessed day; their blessing, and the intercessions of their long-suffering and the grace of their help, world without end. Amen.

O peaceful king of peace, Jesus Christ thy peace, give us and confirm unto us our meekness, and forgive us our sins and make us worthy that we may go out and come into our homes in peace.

⟨DISMISSAL⟩

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Bow down your heads before the Lord our God, that by the hand of the acting priest he may bless us.

¶ *The people shall say*

Amen. The Lord bless us and be propitious unto us.

¶ *The priest shall say while he blesses with the sign of the cross*

¶ *The priest shall say*

O Lord save thy people and bless thine heritage, govern them and lift them up for ever, and keep thine holy Church which thou has purchased and ransomed with the precious blood of thine only Son, our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, which thou hast called [to be] a congregation for kings and for princes, for a pure generation and for a holy people; ye who are come and who are assembled in the true holy Church, who have fed upon the blessed body and precious blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is medicine for your sins which ye have committed wittingly or unwittingly, in charity which is transitory have mercy upon you, and in the future be ye crucified in this his body, the body divine, and in this his blood, the blood of law; and the oblation of Jesus Christ the Son of the God of Sabaoth, begotten of Mary, Immaculate in virginity, pure for ever and ever.

And after the cold water, I pray and beseech thee, O my Lord and my God, look upon those who love thy flock, and accept thy soul, which is thy sheep, for that thou hast given us thy body, the righteous food which in truth is a portion of eternal life. And again we pray thee and beseech thee, O my Lord, that it will not leave and will not afflict my soul and my body, which is the body and blood which thou didst take up and which gave me life and gave me health, and which placed me in fear of thee, and which teacheth me thy love that I may pray to thee all days of my life,[95] and its praise which likewise, O my Lord, is sweet to my soul, even refined, that it be to thee sacrifice; and make my heart to live and remain and be full of the Holy Ghost, for thy body and thy blood will raise up him, who confesses and receives thee from the hand of thy priesthood and consumes thee, for to thee be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

¶ *The priest shall say*

¶ *And after he had finished doing it he gave his blessing, and while blessing with his fingers, absolving the people by the power of his hand, he blessed their eyes; and when he had blessed the presbyters, he placed his hand upon Peter and upon the others.*

Partake of the Lord who will place you in his everlasting kingdom; and in wisdom may the Lord bless and behold and illuminate the eyes of thine heart, and in truth may the Lord bless and make his face to shine upon thee, *and likewise women.*

¶ *The priest shall say*

The Lord be with you all.

¶ *The people shall say*

With thy spirit. Amen.

The Lord give us a blessing of peace and be propitious upon us, his servants. Remission be unto us, who have received thy body and thy blood. Suffer us through the spirit to tread upon all the power of the enemy. The blessing of thine holy hand which is full of mercy, even that we all hope for. From every evil work turn us away; in every good work join us. Blessed be he who hath given us his holy body and his precious blood. We have taken of grace and we have found life by the power of the cross of Jesus Christ. Unto thee, Lord, we give thanks, after taking of the grace which is from the Holy Ghost.

¶ *The deacon shall say*

Depart in peace.

¶ *The priest shall say while he places the* εὐλογία

Lord, our God and our creator, who hast given his good food, whose body it is, to all, who hast given a blessing to his creatures who honour thy holy name; extend thy holy right hand in which are days and in which is time, and bless this bread to me, and may it be thy blessing and thy goodness to me;[96] again, may it be to all who receive it redemption and medicine to our souls, strength and might to our body for the remission of sin, the bread which thou hast given us, may it be for thanksgiving to thee; and that we may praise thy kingdom, thrice holy Father, and Son and Holy Ghost. O Lord, may thy blessing, thine own, be upon this bread, and upon him who gives and upon those who minister, in thy glorious fear, to the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

¶ *And after the oblation is received, it is not fitting that he break it with his hands or feet, but he shall take off his robes and sacred adornments, and shall genuflect, and shall spit, and shall pour out the blood, having cut the finger-nails and his head having been shaved in the right manner, and he shall be girded like a man and shall come among us eating and drinking, but he shall not stand and associate with women, and he shall not lightly esteem this receiving of the oblation.*

The whole order of the *Ḳeddāsē* of the Apostles and chiefs and of the ancient fathers is ended in the peace of the Lord. May their prayers and their blessings and the gift of their association be with us and with his scribe *Walda George* for ever and ever. Amen and Amen. So be it. So be it. *Ḳeddāsē.* Lord.

NOTES
ON THE
ETHIOPIC TEXT
OF MERCER 3.

NOTES

1. ታቦት, "ark". 2 For ኢየሱስ፡ 3. Abbreviation for ለዓለመ፡ዓለም፡አሜን፡ 4. For ባስልዮስ፡ 5 Read በ for ሀ in ወለእኅቲሀ፡ 6. Read ወሰዕበየ፡ 7. Abbreviation for ይእዜኒ፡ወዘልፈኒ፡ወለዓለመ፡ዓለም፡ 8. Read with the mss ኢተወለጠ immediately before ንብሬ፡ 9. Read ኢሱከ፡ 10. Read ለመድኃኒትነ፡ 11. Read እለበውስነ፡ 12. Read ዘሠሬዐበ፡ 13. Read ኢእምር፡ለአዕይንት፡ 14. Read ንቤሁ፡ 15. Supply ታቦት with the mss. 16. Read ዘመሐርከነ፡ 17. Read ምስሌከ፡ 18. Read ወጸሪቀ፡መበለት፡ 19. Supply ፍሕመ፡ 20. Omit the punctuation ፡፡ and read እምለክነ፡ 21. Read ዘበእለሁ፡ 22. A split word. Read ይከ፡፡ስብሕቀ፡ 23 Abbreviation for ይበል፡ዲያቆን፡ተንሥኡ፡ለጸሎት፡ 24 Abbreviation for ይበሉ፡ሕዝብ፡እግዚኦ፡ተሠሃለነ፡ 25. Abbreviation for ይበል፡ካህን፡ሰላም· ለኩልክሙ፡ 26. Abbreviation for ይበል፡ሕዝብ፡ምስለ፡መንፈስከ፡ 27. The በል is

ለዓለመ፡ዓለም፡አሜን፡ 28. Supply ኢርኢ from the mss. 29. Abbreviation for እማሌ፡ 30 Read ለእመ፡ 31. Read ላዕሌነ፡ 32 Read ላእካን፡ 33. Omit the first ኒ with the mss. 34. Read with the mss. ይብሉ፡ሕዝብ፡ለለምዕራፉ፡ 35. Read ሃይማኖትነ፡ 36. The phrase ናስተበቍዕ፡ከመ፡እግዚአብሔር፡ is frequently abbreviated. 37. Omit ኢሁሉ፡ 38. The በለ is ዘእለብበ፡ጥንተ፡ወኢተፍጻሜተ፤(ወኢተፍጻሜቶ፡ Br. Mus. Or. 546) ዘዐቢይ፡በተኬንዎቱ፡ወኃያል፡በምግባሩ፡ወጻድቅ፡በምክሩ፡ወጽኑዕ፡ በኀይሉ፡ዘሀለወ፡ውስተ፡ኵሉ፡ወይሄሉ፤ሀሉ፡ምስሌነ፡በዛቲ፡ሰዓት፡ወቁም፡ ምእከለ፡ኵልነ፤ ወእንጽሕ፡አልባቢነ፡ወቀድስ፡ነፍሳቲነ፡ወሥጋነ፡ወሕፅበነ፡እምኵሉ፡ ኃጣውኢነ፡ዘገበርነ፡በአእምሮ፡ አው፡በኢያእምሮ፤ሀበነ፡ንሡዕ፡በቅድሜከ፡ መሥዋዕተ፡ነባቢተ፡ወመሥዋዕተ፡በረከት፡እንተ፡ታበውእ፡ውስተ፡ውሣጤተ፡መንጦ ላዕት፡ቅድስተ፡ቅዱሳን፡ማኅደርከ። (Br. Mus. Or. 545) 39. The በለ is ይብል፡ ካህን፤ ተንሥእ፡እግዚአ፡አምላኪየ፡ወይዘርዉ፡ፀርከ፡ወይጐየዩ፡ኵሎሙ፡እምቅድመ፡

ንጽከ፡ እለ፡ ይጸልኡ፡ ቅዱሰ፡ ወሉሩከ፡ ስመከ፤ ወሕዝበከሰ፡ ይሉሩ፡ ቡሩካነ፡ በበረከት· እእላፌ፡ እእላፋት· ወትእልፌት፡ እእላፋት፡ እለ· ይገብሩ· ፈቃደከ፤ በእሐዱ፡ ወለዱከ· ዘቦቱ፡ ለከ ምስሌሁ፡ ወምስለ፡ ቅዱስ፡ መንፈስ፡ ስብሐት፡ ወእኒዝ· ይእዜኒ፡ ወዘልፌኒ፡ ወለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን። (Br Mus Or. 545) 40 Supply from Br Mus Or 545 ማዕጠንት፡ ዘወርቅ 41. The በሰ is ንስግድ፡ ለከ፡ ክርስቶስ· ምስለ፡ አቡከ፡ ኄር፡ ሰማያዊ፡ ወመንፈስከ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ማሕየዊ· እስመ፡ መጻእከ፡ ወአድኀንከነ። (Br. Mus. Or. 545. Compare Mercer, 3,61-2-(15-20) 42 Omit ዕበየ፡ 43 Read በክሉር፡ 44 Read ጸገከ፡ 45 The በሰ reads ፍጹም፡ ምሉእ፡ ሰማያት፡ ወምድር፡ ቅድሳት፡ ስብሐቲከ። (Br. Mus Or. 545). 46. Read አብ፡ 47. The በሰ is ምስሌሁ፡ ወምስለ· ቅዱስ፡ መንፈስ· ስብሐት፡ ወእኒዝ፡ ይእዜኒ· ወዘልፌኒ፡ ወለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፡ 48 Read ይማኅት, the ሐ at the beginning being due to dittography 49 Read ዕበነ፡ 50 Read ቅዱስ፡ 51. Supply from the mss ሰላም· ለኵልክሙ። ይበሉ· ሕዝብ፡ 52. በሰ is ወሀየንት፡

ይስሐቅ· ዘአስተዳለውከ ወአውረድከ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ቤዛሁ ፡ በግዐ፤ ከማሁ ፡ ተወከፍ ፡ እምኔነ፡ አእግዚእነ፡ መሥዋዕተነ፡ ወዘንተ· መዓዛ ፡ ዕጣንነ፤ ወፈኑ፡ ለነ፡ እምላዕሉ ፡ ህየንቴሁ ፡ ብዕለ፡ ሣህሊከ· ወምሕረትከ፤ ከመ· ንኩን ፡ ንጹሐነ ፡ እምኵሉ ፡ ፄና ፡ ፂአት ፡ ኃጣውኢነ፤ ወረስየነ፡ ድልዋነ፡ ከመ፡ ንትለአከ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ውዳሴ ፡ ንጹሕከ፡ አመፍቀሬ፡ ለጓለ፡ እመሕያው ፡ በጽድቅ፡ ወበንጽሕ፡ በኵሉ ፡ መዋዕለ፡ ሕይወትነ፡ በትፍሥሕት፡ ወበኃሤት ። (Br. Mus Or. 545). 53. *Supply* ተበት፡ 54. *The* በለ *reads* ዘተወልደ፡ እማርያም፡ እምቅድስት፡ ድንግል፤ ተሣሀለነ፡ እግዚኦ። ቅዱስ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ቅዱስ፡ ኃያል፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሕያው ዘኢይመውት፡ ዘተጠምቀ፡ በዮርዳኖስ፡ ወተሰቅለ፡ ዲበ፡ ዕፀ፡ መስቀል፤ ተሣሀለነ፡ እግዚኦ፡ ቅዱስ፡ እግዚአብሔር· ቅዱስ፡ ኃያል፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሕያው ፡ ዘኢይመውት፡ ዘተንሥአ፡ እሙታን· አመ ሣልስት፡ ዕለት፤ ዐርገ፡ በስብሐት፡ ውስተ ፡ ሰማያት፡ ወነበረ· በየማነ፡ አቡሁ፤ ዳግመ· ይመጽእ· በስብሐት፡ ይኰንን፡ ሕያዋነ፡ ወሙታነ፤ ተሣሀለነ፡ እግዚኦ። ስብሐት፡ ለአብ፡ ስብሐት፡ ለወልድ ፡ ስብሐት ፡ ለመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ይእዜኒ፡ ወዘልፈኒ፡ ወለዓለመ· ዓለም፡ አሜን· ወአሜን ፡ ለይኩን ፡ ለይኩን ። (Bodl. Poc 6; Dillmann, Chrestomathia

Aethiopica, 46). 55 The በል reads እግዚአብሔር፡ ምስሌኪ፡ ቡርክት፡ አንቲ፡ እም አንስት፡፡ ወቡሩክ፡ ፍሬ፡ ከርሥኪ፡፡ ሰአሊ፡ ወተንብሊ፡ ለነ፡ ኀበ፡ ፍቁር ወልድኪ፡፡ ይስረይ፡ ለነ፡ ኃጣውኢነ፡፡ (Br. Mus. Or. 545). 56. Read ቀድሜሁ፡ 57. The በል reads ዘኵሎ፡ ይእኅዝ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አብ፡ ለእግዚእ፡ ወመድኃኒነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ (Br. Mus. Or. 545). 58. Read አሠርገቀሙ፡ 59 Omit the preceding ይበ፡ ንፍቅ፡ which has no response 60 Read ይሕ with the mss 61. Read ዘእምንቤከ፡ 62. Omit ሊቃነ፡ 63 Read ጸሎተኒ፡ 64. Read ቅዱስ፡ 65. Read በክህነትከ፡ 66. The በል reads ዘቦቱ፡ ለከ፡ ምስሌሁ፡ ወምስለ፡ ቅዱስ፡ መንፈስ፡ ስብሐት፡ ወእኂዝ፡ ይእዜኒ፡ ወዘልፈኒ፡ ወለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፡፡ (Br. Mus. Or. 545). 67. Supply ወለድረትክሙ፡ 68. Read ተለሐኬ፡ በተመጥቀትክሙ፡ 69. Correct to እሰከ፡ 70. Read ይሕ. 71. Supply ይሕ፡ 72. Read ለዐለ፡ 73. Omit አበዊነ፡ 74. Read ለነ፡ 75. Correct to ኵሎሙ፡ 76. Read ቅዱስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ጸባኦት፡ ፍጹም፡ ምሉእ፡ ሰማያት ወምድር፡ ቅድሳት፡ ስብሐቲከ፡፡ (Br. Mus. Or.

545) 77 Read ረቀጸከ፡ 78 Abbreviation for ተዘከረነ፡ ዝእ፡ በውስተ፡ መንግሥትከ፡ 79. Read ንተበሃን፡ 80. Omit ወ and read መንፈስከ፡ 81. Read ክርስቲያንየ፡ 82 Br. Mus. Or. 545 and 546 read ንፁቅ· 547, 548 and Add. 16202 read ሕዝብ፡ 83. Br. Mus. Or 545, etc and Berlin 414 read ፲፡ 84. The በለ is እግዚእ፡ መሐረነ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ 85 Read ይሕ፡ 86. Omit ይወጺእ as dittography. 87. Read በጽዔክ· 88. ዕዝል unus e tribus cantandi modis quibus Abyssini utuntur, Dillmann, Chrest Aeth. 255. 89. The በለ should read እግዚእ፡ ንጉሥየ· ወእሰብሕ፡ ለስምከ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለመ፡. 90 The በለ is ዘኮሉ፡ ይእኅዝ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አብ፡ ለእግዚእ፡ ወመድኃኒነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡፡ 91. Read ሠናይ፡ 92 Omit ወተገብር፡ በእንቲአነ as dittography. 93. Read መናጸሌቆስ፡ 94 ከመ፡ 95 Read ሕይወትየ፡ 96 Read በለዕሌየ፡

97 በይእቲ፡ ሌሊት፡ እንተ፡ ባቲ፡ አመ፡ ይገብእዎ፡ ንሥአ፡ ኅብስተ፡ በእደዊሁ፡ ቅዱሳት፡

ወበፀዓት፡ ወንጹሐት፡ እለ፡ እንበለ፡ ነውር፡ አዕኰተ፡ ባረከ፡ ወፈተተ። ወመጠወ፡ ለአርዳኢሁ፡ ነገር፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ ንሥኡ፡ ብልዑ፡ ዝኅብስት። ሥጋየ፡ ውእቱ፡ ለዘበእንቲአክሙ፡ ይትፌተት፡ ለኅድገተ፡ ኃጢአት። ወሰበ፡ ዘንተ፡ ትገብሩ፡ ተዝካረ፡ ዚአየ፡ ግበሩ። ወከማሁ፡ ጽዋዐ፡ ወይን፡ ቶሲሐከ፡ አዕኰትከ፡ ባሪከከ፡ ወቀዲሰከ፡ ወወሀብኮሙ፡ በአማን፡ ደምከ፡ ዘንቱ፡ በአማን፡ ዘተክዕወ፡ በእንተ፡ ኃጢአትነ። (Mercer,3,109-2-16 to 110-2-13).

98. አሜሃ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ነሥአ፡ ኅብስተ፡ በእደዊሁ፡ ቅዱሳት፡ ወበፀዓት፡ ወንጹሐት፡ እለ፡ እንበለ፡ ርስሐት፡ አንቃዕደወ፡ ሰማየ፡ ኀቤከ፡ ኀበ፡ አቡሁ፡ ወአስተምሐረ፡ ለወለዩሁ፡ አማኅፀነ፡ ከመ፡ ይዕቀቦሙ፡ እምኵሉ፡ እኩይ፡ ባረከ፡ እንዘ፡ ቡሩክ፡ ውእቱ፡ ፈተተ፡ እንዘ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ውእቱ፡ ወወሀቦሙ፡ ለአርዳኢሁ፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ብልዑ፡ ዝኅብስት፡ ሥጋየ፡ ውእቱ፡ ለዘበእንቲአክሙ፡ ይትፌተት፡ ለቤዛ፡ ኵሉ፡ ዓለም። ወከማሁ፡ ጽዋዐኒ፡ እምድኅረ፡ ተደሩ፡ አንፀረ፡ ወይቤ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ስተዩ፡ እማጽዋዕ። ደምየ፡ ውእቱ፡ ለዘበእንቲአክሙ፡ ይነቅዕ፡ ኵናት፡ ወለዝ፡ ሰበ፡ ትገብርዎ፡ ተዝካረ፡ ዚአየ፡ ግበሩ፡ ወተዝካረ፡ ሞትየ፡ ወተዝካረ፡ ትንሣኤየ፡ ትዜንዉ። (Mercer, 3, 125-2-12 to 126-1-14).

99. ነሥአ፡ ኅብስተ፡ በእደዊሁ፡ ቅዱሳት፡ ወብፁዓት፡ ሐቀፊሁ፡ ለመርዓትቦ፡ ወሕጽንቲሁ፡ ለእንተ፡ ኅደገ፡ ምኩራብ፡ አእኮተ፡ ባረከ፡ ወፈተተ፡ ወወሀቦሙ፡ ለአርዳኢሁ፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ዝኅብስት፡ ሥጋየ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዘበለዓሂ፡ ኢይመውት፡ ወዘነሥአሂ፡ ኢይማስን፡ ንሥኡ፡ ብልዑ፡ እምኔሁ፡ ኵልክሙ፡ ወከማሁ፡ ስብሐ፡ ዲበ፡ ጽዋዕ፡ ወይቤ፡ ዝጽዋዕ፡ ደምየ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዘሐዲስ፡ ሥርዓት፡ ንሥኡ፡ ስትዩ፡ እምኔሁ፡ ኵልክሙ፡ መንክር፡ ተአምር፡ ውእቱ፡ ለኵሎሙ፡ እለ፡ ይሰግዱ፡ ሎቱ፡ ዐውደ፡ ሰቀልዎን፡ ዘተጸሕፈ፡ በደሙ፡ ወተዓቅበ፡ በመስቀሉ፡ ወተኃተመ፡ በስቅለቱ፡ በእንተ፡ ሕይወት፡ ዘለዓለም፡ በዘይትኀደግ፡ ኀጢአት፡ ወከመዝ፡ ግብሩ፡ ተዝካርየ፡ እስከ፡ ሰበ፡ ትትጋብኡ፡ (Mercer, 3, 142-1-11 to 142-2-11).

100. ነሥአ፡ ኅብስተ፡ በዕደዊሁ፡ ቅዱሳት፡ ወንጹሓት፡ ወብፁዓት፡ እለ፡ እንበለ፡ ርስሐት፡ አንቃዕደወ፡ ሰማየ፡ ኀቤከ፡ ኀበ፡ አቡሁ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወእግዚአ፡ ኵሉ፡ ወመልዕለተ፡ ኵሉ፡ አእኮተ፡ ባረከ፡ ወፈተተ፡ ወወሀቦሙ፡ ለአርዳኢሁ፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ዝውእቱ፡ ሥጋየ፡ መብልዓ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ዘበአማን፡ ዘበልዓ፡ እምኔሁ፡ ቦሕይወት፡ ዘለዓለም፡ ንሥኡ፡ ብልዑ፡

እምኒሁ፡ ኵልክሙ፡ ወከማሁ፡ ጽዋዓኒ፡ ቶስሐ፡ ማየ፡ ወይነ፡ አዕኰተ፡ ባረከ፡ ወቀደሰ፡ ወወሀቦሙ፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ዝውእቱ ደምየ፡ ስቴ ሕይወት፡ ዘበአማን፡ ዘሰተየ፡ እምኒሁ፡ በሕይወት፡ ዘለዓለም፡ ንሥኡ፡ ስተዩ፡ እምኒሁ፡ ኵልክሙ፡ ተአምር፡ ውእቱ፡ ለክሙ፡ ወለአለ፡ እምድኅሬክሙ፡ ወከመዘ፡ ግበሩ፡ ተዝካርየ፡ እስከ፡ ሶበ፡ እመጽእ፡ ወሶበሂ፡ ትትጋብኡ፡ በስምየ፡ ዜንዉ፡ ሞትየ፡ ወትንሣኤየ፡ ወዕርገትየ፡ ውስተ፡ ሰማያት፡። (Mercer, 3, 151-2-21 to 152-2-6)

101 ነሥአ፡ ኅብስተ፡ በእደዊሁ፡ ዘተቀነወ፡ ወበዘለሀኰ፡ ለአዳም፡ አቡነ፡ ንጹሕ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ርስሐት፡ ወጽሩይ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ተምይን፡ አዕኰቶ፡ ባረከ፡ ወፈተቶ፡ ወሀቦሙ፡ ለአሊአሁ፡ አርዳኢሁ፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ብልዑ፡ ዝኅብስት፡ ሥጋየ፡ ውእቱ፡ መብልዕ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ዘበአማን፡ ሥጋየ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዘይትወሀብ፡ ለመድኃኒት፡ ኵሉ፡ ዓለም። ዘይበልዖ፡ ወየሐዩ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ ወከዐበ፡ ነበረ፡ ዲበ፡ ጽዋዕ፡ ማየ፡ ሕይወት፡ ምስለ፡ ወይን፡ አዕኰቶ፡ ባረከ፡ ወቀደሶ፡ ወወሀቦሙ፡ አርዳኢሁ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ስተዩ፡ ዝጽዋዕ፡ ደምየ፡ ውእቱ፡ ስቴ፡ ሕይወት፡ ዘበአማን፡ ዘሰተየ፡ እምኒሁ፡ በሕይወት፡ ዘለዓለም፡ ንሥኡ፡ ስተዩ፡ ኵልክሙ፡ እምኒሁ፡ ይኩንክሙ፡ ለሕይወት፡ ወለመድኃኒት፡፡ (Mercer, 3, 160-1-11 to 160-2-18)

102. ወእንሶሰወ፡ ምስሌሆሙ አርአዮሙ ፡ሥርዓተ፡ ምሥጢር፡ ዘቍርባን፡ ነሥአ፡ ኅብስተ፡ በቅድሜሆሙ፡ ባረከ፡ ወፈተተ፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ብልዑ፡ ዝኅብስት፡ ሥጋየ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዘበእንቲአክሙ፡ ይትፌተት፡ ለኅድገተ፡ ኃጢአት፡ ወከማሁ፡ ጽዋዓኒ፡ ባረከ፡ ወይቤ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ስተዩ፡ ዝጽዋዕ ደምየ፡ ውእቱ፡ ለዘበእንቲአክሙ፡ ይትከዐው፡ ለኅድገተ፡ ኃጢአት፡፡ (Mercer, 3, 176-2-20 to 177-1-15).

103. በይእቲ፡ ሌሊት፡ ምሴተ፡ ሐሙስ፡ ለጸቢሐ፡ ዓርብ፡ እመ፡ ረፈቀ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ፡ ዓለዓዘር፡ ዓርኩ፡ ነሥአ፡ በእደዊሁ፡ ኅብስተ፡ ስርናይ፡ ዓሊተ፡ እምዘ፡ እምጽኡ፡ ሎቱ፡ ለጸራር፡ እዕሎት፡ ባረከ፡ ወፈተተ፡ ወወሀቦሙ፡ ለእሊአሁ፡ እርዳኢሁ፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ብልዑ፡ ዝኅብስት፡ ሥጋየ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዘይትፌተት፡ በእንቲአክሙ፡ ወካዕበ፡ ቶስሐ፡ ጽዋዓ፡ ማየ፡ ምስለ፡ ወይን፡ አእኰተ፡ ባረከ፡ ወቀደሰ፡ ወመጠዎሙ፡ ለሐዋርያቲሁ፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ስተዩ፡ ዝጽዋዕ፡ ደምየ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዘይትከዐው፡ በእንቲአክሙ፡ ወዘንተ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ይኩንክሙ፡ ለተዝካር፡ ሞትየ፡ ወትንሣኤየ፡፡ (Mercer, 3, 188-2-4 to 189-1-4)

104 በይእቲ፡ ሌሊት፡ እንተ፡ ባቲ፡ እመ፡ ያገብእዎ፡ ነሥአ፡ ኅብስተ፡ በእደዊሁ፡ ቅዱ

ሳት፡ ወበፀዕ፡ እለ፡ እንበለ፡ ነውር፡ እንቃዕደወ፡ ሰማየ፡ ኀቤከ ኀበ፡ አቡሁ፡ አእኰተ፡ ባረከ፡ ወፈተተ፡ ወወሀቦሙ፡ ለእሊአሁ፡ አርዳኢሁ፡ ለአርዳኢሁ፡ ንጹሓን፡ ወለሐዋርያቲሁ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ብልዑ፡ ዝኅብስት፡ ሥጋየ፡ ውእቱ፡ ለዘበእንቲአክሙ፡ ይትፌተት፡ ለኅድገተ፡ ኃጢአት፡ ወካዕበ፡ ጽዋዐኒ፡ እምድኅረ ተደሩ ቶስሐ፡ ማየ፡ ምስለ፡ ወይን፡ አእኰተ፡ ባረከ፡ ወቀደሰ፡ ወወሀቦሙ፡ ለእሊአሁ፡ ለሐዋርያቲሁ፡ ንጹሓን፡ ወለአርዳኢሁ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ስተዩ፡ ዝጽዋዕ፡ ደምየ፡ ውእቱ፡ ለዘበእንቲአክሙ፡ ይትከዐው፡ ለኅድገተ፡ ኃጢአት፡ (Mercer, 3, 195-2-6 to 196-1-8).

105. ነሢአከ፡ ኅብስተ፡ በእደዊከ፡ ቅዱሳት፡ ከመ ተሀቦሙ፡ ለአርዳኢከ፡ ንጹሐን፡ ዘአሚሃ፡ ባረከ ባርክ፡ ይእዜኒ፡ ለዘንቱ፡ ኅብስት፡ ዘአሚሃ፡ ፈተትከ፡ ፈትት፡ ይእዜኒ፡ ለዘንቱ፡ ኅብስት፡ ወካዕበ፡ ቶሲሐከ፡ ጽዋዐ፡ ወይን፡ ምስለ፡ ማይ፡ ከመ ተሀቦሙ፡ ለሐዋርያቲከ፡ ንጹሐን፡ ዘአሚሃ፡ ቀደስከ፡ ቀድስ፡ ይእዜኒ፡ ለዘንቱ፡ ጽዋዕ፡ ዘአሚሃ፡ መጠውከ፡ መጥው፡ ይእዜኒ፡ ለዘንቱ፡ ጽዋዕ፡ ዘአሚሃ፡ ደመርከ፡ ደምር፡ ይእዜኒ፡ ለዘንቱ፡ ኅብስት፡ ምስለ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ጽዋዕ፡ ይኩን፡ ሥጋከ፡ ወደመከ፡ (Mercer, 3, 202-1-3 to 202-1-21).

106. ነሥአ፡ ኅብስተ፡ በእደዊሁ፡ ቅዱሳት፡ ወብፁዕ፡ እለ፡ እንበለ፡ ርስሐት፡ ወንጹሐት፡ ወመኅየውያት፡ አዲሃ፡ ነጸረ፡ ውስተ፡ ሰማይ፡ ኀቤከ፡ ኀበ፡ አቡሁ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወእግዚአ፡ ኵሉ፡ አእኰተ፡ ባረከ፡ ወፈተተ፡ ወወሀቦሙ፡ ለእሊአሁ፡ አርዳኢሁ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ወለሐዋርያቲሁ፡ ንጹሓን፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ብልዑ፡ እምኔሁ፡ ኵልክሙ፡ ዝኅብስት፡ ሥጋየ፡ ውእቱ፡ ለዘበእንቲአክሙ፡ ይትፌተት፡ ለኅድገተ፡ ኀጢአት፡ ወከመዝ፡ ግበሩ፡ ተዝካርየ፡ ወከማሁ፡ ካዕበ፡ ጽዋዓኒ፡ እምድኅረ፡ ተደረሩ፡ ቶስሐ፡ ማየ፡ ምስለ፡ ወይን፡ አዕኰተ፡ ባረከ፡ ወቀደሰ፡ ጥዕመ፡ ወወሀቦሙ፡ ለእሊአሁ፡ አርዳኢሁ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ወለሐዋርያቲሁ፡ ንጹሓን፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ስተዩ፡ እምኔሁ፡ ኵልክሙ፡ ዝጽዋዕ፡ ደምየ፡ ውእቱ፡ ለዘበእንቲአክሙ፡ ይትከዐው፡ ለስርየት፡ ኀጢአት፡ ወከመዝ፡ ግበሩ፡ ተዝካርየ፡ አምጣነ፡ ትበልዕዎ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ጽዋዕ፡ ዜንዉ፡ ሞትየ፡ ወእመኑ፡ በትንሣኤየ፡ ወግበሩ፡ ተዝካርየ፡ እስከ፡ ሶበ፡ እመጽእ፡፡ (Mercer, 3, 210-2-9 to 211-1-20)

107. Read here with other mss. ጥዕመ፡

108. ነሣእከ፡ ኅብስተ፡ በቅደሚሆሙ፡ አዕኰትከ፡ ባረከ፡ ወፌተትከ፡ ወወሀብኮሙ፡ እንዘ፡ ትብል፡ ንሥኡ፡ ብልዑ፡ ዝኅብስት፡ ሥጋየ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዘአልቦ፡ ተሌልዮ፡ እምኔሁ፡ ወከማሁ፡ ጽዋዓ

ኒ፡ ቶሳሕከ፡ ማየ፡ ወወይነ፡ እዕኰትከ፡ ባረከ፡ ወቀደስከ፡ ወወሀብኮሙ፡ እንዘ፡ ትብል፡ ንሥኡ፡ ስተዩ፡ ዝጽዋዕ፡ ደምየ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዘእለቦ፡ ተፈለጠ፡ እምኔሁ፡ አመባነ፡ ትበልዕዎ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ኅብስት፡ ወትሰትይዎ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ጽዋዕ፡ ዜንዉ፡ ሞትየ፡ ወትንሣኤየ፡ ወእመነ፡ ዕርገትየ፡ ወዳግመ፡ ምጽአትየ፡ በስብሐት፡፡ (Mercer, 3, 235-1-11 to 235-2-4).

109. በይእቲ፡ ሌሊት፡ እንተ፡ ባቲ፡ አመ፡ የኀብእዎ፡ ነሥአ፡ ኅብስተ፡ በእደዊሁ፡ ቅዱሳት፡ ወብፁዓት፡ ወንጹሐት፡ እንበለ፡ ነውር፡ አንቀዕደወ፡ ሰማየ፡ ኀቤከ፡ ኀበ፡ አቡሁ፡ አእኰተ፡ ባረከ፡ ወፌተተ፡ ወይቤ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ብልዑ፡ ዝውእቱ፡ ሥጋየ ዘበእንቲአክሙ፡ ይትፌተት፡ ወይትወሀብ፡ ለቤዛ፡ ኩሉ፡ ዓለም፡ በዘይትነጸግ፡ ኅጢአት፡ ወካዕበ፡ አምጽንረ፡ ተጸሩ፡ ነሥአ፡ ጽዋዓ፡ አዕኰተ ባረከ፡ ወቀደሰ፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ለአርዳኢሁ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ስተዩ፡ ዝጽዋዕ፡ ደምየ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዘሐዲስ፡ ሥርዓት፡ ለዘበእንቲአክሙ፡ ይትከዐው፡ ለቤዛ፡ ኩሉ፡ ዓለም፡ በዘ፡ ይትነጸግ፡ ኅጢአት፡፡ (Mercer, 3, 244-2-22 to 245-1-18)

110. ደምር፡ እግዚአ ትስብእተነ፡ በመለኮትከ፡ ዕበየከ፡ በትሕትናነ፡ ወትሕትናነ፡ ዕበይከ፡ ከመ፡ ናቅርብ፡ ለከ፡ ዘንተ፡ ቍርባነ፡ ዘአንተ፡ ወሀብከ፡ ለአርዳኢከ፡ እንዘ፡ ትብል፡

ንሥኡ፡ ብልዑ፡ ዝኅብስት፡ ሥጋየ· ወእቱ፡ ዘበእንቲአክሙ፡ ይትፌተት፡ ወይትወሀብ፡ በዘይትኅደግ፡ ኃጢአት· ወለሕይወት፡ ዘለዓለም፡ ወከማሁ፡ ዲበ· ጽዋዕኒ፡ ነገርክሙ፡ እንዘ፡ ትብሉ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ስተዩ· ዝጽዋዕ· ደምየ፡ ውእቱ፡ ለዘበእንቲአክሙ፡ ይትከዐው፡ ወይትወሀብ፡ በዘይኅደግ፡ ኃጢአት፡ ወለሕይወት፡ ዘለዓለም፡ ወከመዝ፡ ግበሩ፡ ተዝካርየ፡ ወትቤሎሙ፡ እምጠነ፡ ትበልዕዎ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ኅብስት፡ ወትሰትይዎ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ጽዋዕ፡ ሞተ፡ ዚአየ፡ ትዜንዉ· በትንሣኤየ· እንዘ· ትትነሥኡ፡ ወትትአመኑ፡ ወግበሩ፡ ተዝካርየ፡ በስብሐት፡ ወበውዳሴ፡ በእኩቴት፡ ወበዕበይ። (Mercer, 3, 250-2-21 to 251-1-24) 111.

Read ነፍስሁ፡ 112 Omit ከመ·

ORDO COMMUNIS

WITH THE

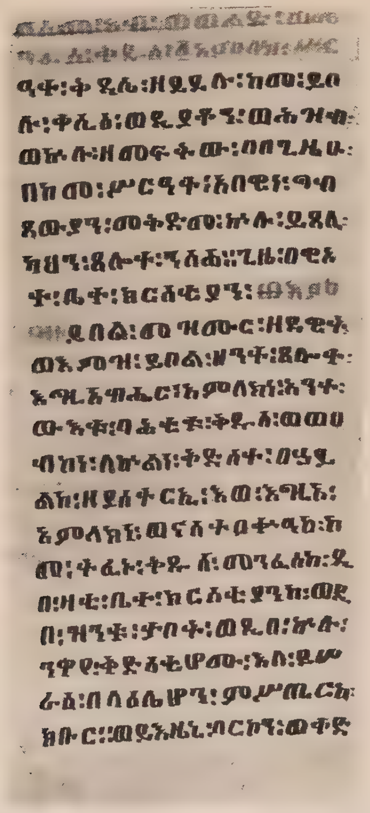
ANAPHORA OF THE APOSTLES OF THE PRESENT ETHIOPIC LITURGY

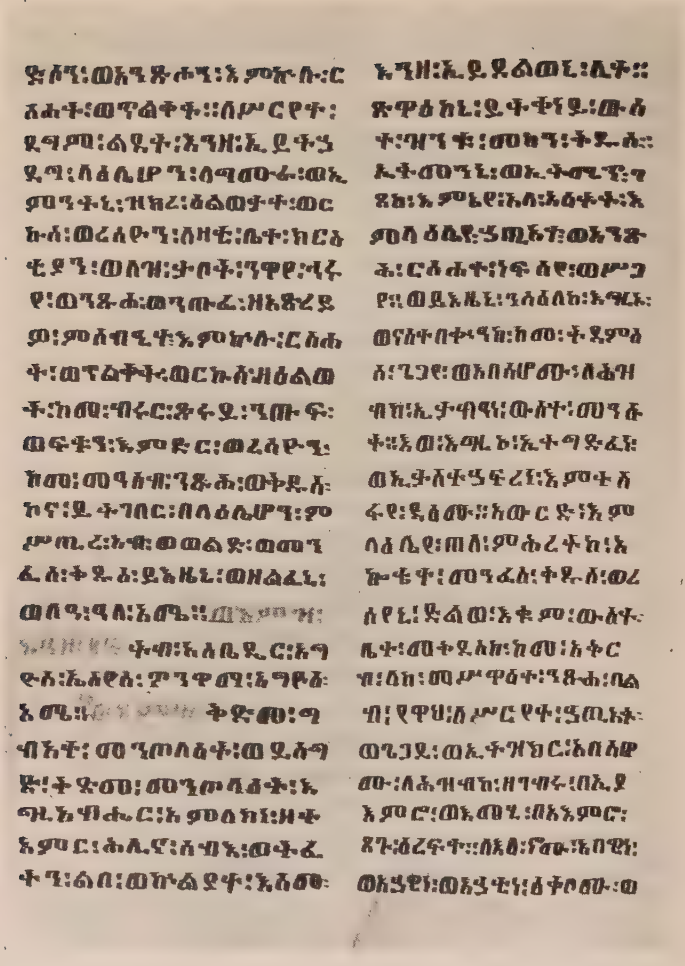
FROM MERCER MS. ETH. 3.

FACSIMILE OF MERCER MS. ETH. 3

The following is a facsimile of *Mercer Ms. Eth.* 3, pp. 34b-106b, being the *Ordo Communis* and the Anaphora of the Twelve Apostles of the present Ethiopic liturgy. *Mercer* 3 is a vellum ms., 16 by 11.43 cm.; pp. 253, and six blank pages at the beginning and two at the end. There are two columns on each page, each column consisting of from 23 to 27 lines. It is written in a medium but clear character, and belongs to the reign of Menīlek II. and the Metropolitanship of *Abūna* Matthew. It was made for and perhaps by *Walda George.* Its contents are as follows:

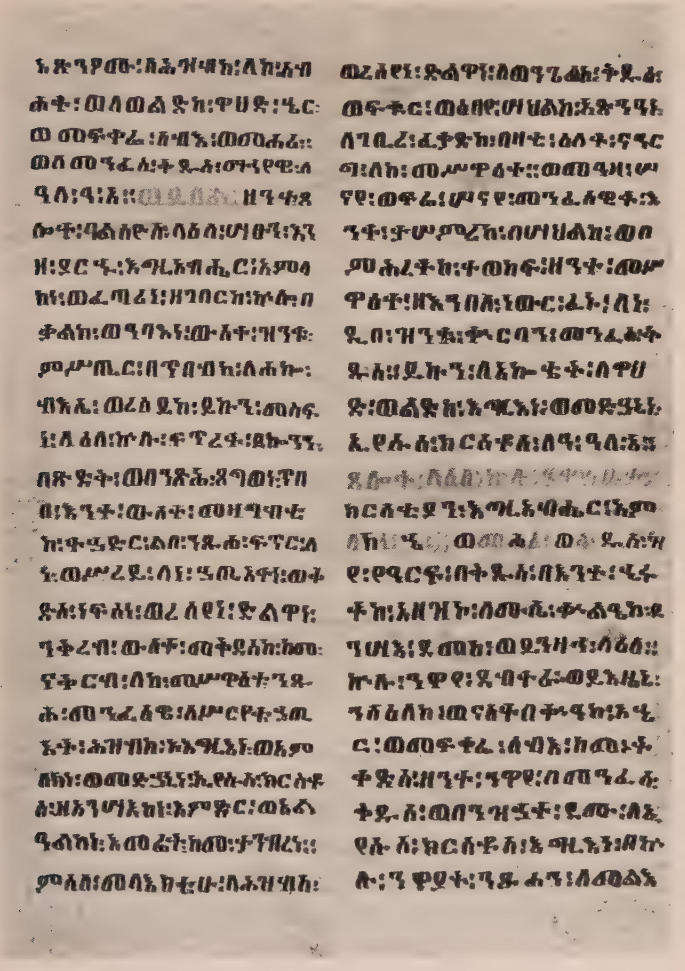
Offices	pp. 1 — 34b
Ordo Communis	34b— 84a
Anaphora of the Twelve Apostles	84a—106b
Anaphora of Our Lord and Our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ	107a—114a
Anaphora of the Blessed Virgin Mary	114a—131b
Anaphora of St. John the Evangelist	132a—147b
Anaphora of St. John Chrysostom	148a—157b
Anaphora of St. Gregory of Alexandria	157b—167b
Anaphora of the 318 Fathers	168a—183a
Anaphora of St. Epiphanius	183a—193b
Anaphora of St. Dioscorus	194a—197b
Anaphora of St. James of Serug	198a—208a
Anaphora of St. Basil	208a—221b
Anaphora of St. Athanasius	221b—238b
Anaphora of St. Cyril	239a—248b
Anaphora of St. Gregory the Armenian	248b—253b
A diagram	255

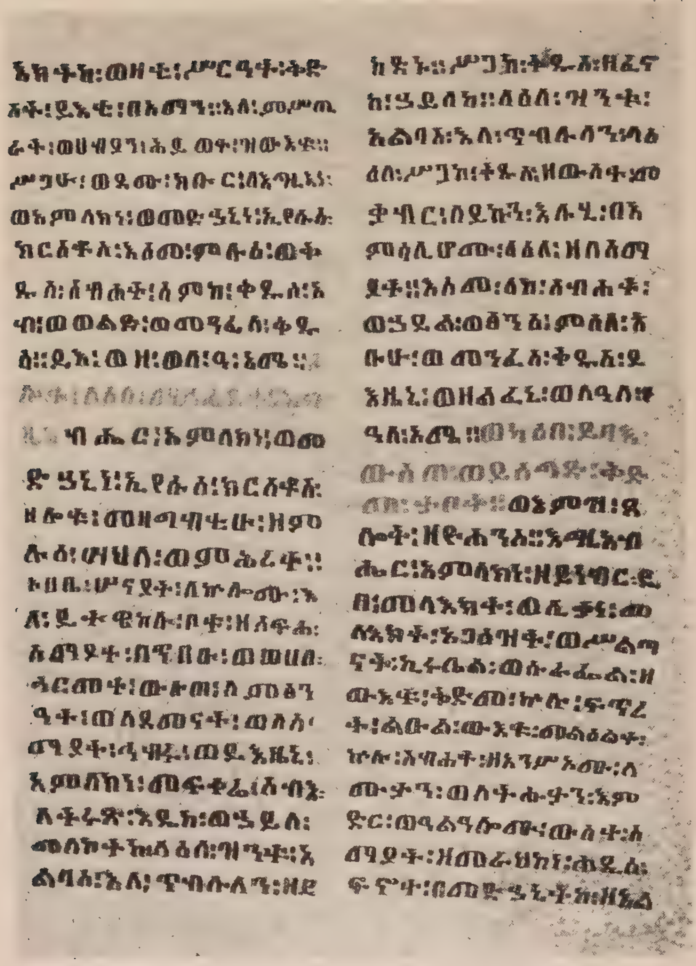




ፍሶን፡ወአንጽሖን፡እምኵሉ፡ር
ስሐት፡ወጥልቀት።ለሥርየት፡
ዳግም፡ልደት፡እግዚአ፡ይቅኀ
ዲግ፡ለዕሌሆን፡ለግሙራ፡ወኢ
ያሀንቱኒ፡ዘከረ፡ዕልወታቶ፡ወር
ኵሎ፡ወረሰዮን፡ለዝቲ፡ቤት፡ክርስ
ቲያን፡ወለዝ፡ታቦት፡ንዋየ፡ኅሩ
የ፡ወንጹሐ፡ወግጡፈ፡ዘአጽረደ
ፀ፡ምስብዒቱ፡እምኵሉ፡ርስሐ
ት፡ወጥልቀት፡ወርኩስ፡ዘዕልወ
ት፡ከመ፡ብሩር፡ጽሩይ፡ግጡፍ፡
ወፍቱን፡እምድር፡ወረሰዮ፡
ከመ፡መዓስብ፡ንጹሕ፡ወቅዱስ፡
ከዋ፡ይትገበር፡በለዕሌሆን፡ም
ሥጢረ፡አብ፡ወወልድ፡ወመን
ፈስ፡ቅዱስ፡ይእዜኒ፡ወዘልፈኒ፡
ወለዓ፡ዓለ፡አሜ።ወእምዝ፡
[illegible] ቀብ፡ኤለቤዱር፡ኦግ
ዮስ፡ኤሰዮስ፡ጕንዋሜ፡ኦግዮስ፡
አሜ።[illegible] ቅድመ፡ግ
ብአቱ፡መንጦለዕቱ፡ወይስግ
ዱ፡ቅድመ፡መንጦላዕቱ፡እ
ግዚአብሔር፡አምላክነ፡ዘቀ
ደምር፡ሕሊና፡ሰብእ፡ወቀፈ
ትን፡ልበ፡ወኵልያተ፡እስመ፡

እንዘ፡ኢይደልወኒ፡ሊተ።
ጸዋዕከኒ፡ይትቀነይ፡ሙሰ
ተ፡ዝንቱ፡መካን፡ቅዱስ፡
ኢትመንኒ፡ወኢትሚጥ፡ገ
ጸከ፡እምኔየ፡አላ፡አሰስሉ፡እ
ምላዕሌየ፡ኃጢአትየ፡ወአንጽ
ሖ፡ርስሐትየ፡ነፍስየ፡ወሥጋ
የ።ወይእዜኒ፡ንስእለከ፡እግዚኦ፡
ወናስተበቍዓከ፡ከመ፡ትደምሰ
ስ፡ጌጋየ፡ወአበሳሆሙ፡ለሕዝ
ብከ፡ኢታብኦሙ፡ውስተ፡መንሱ
ት።እወ፡እግዚኦ፡ኢትማዕፈ፡
ወኢታስተሓፍረኒ፡እምተስ
ፋየ፡ዴዕሙ።አውርድ፡እም
ላዕሌየ፡ጠለ፡ምሕረትከ፡አ
ኰቴተ፡መንፈስ፡ቅዱስ፡ወረ
ሰየኒ፡ድልወ፡እቁም፡ውስተ፡
ቤት፡መቅደስ፡ከመ፡አቅር
ብ፡ለከ፡መሥዋዕተ፡ንጹሐ፡በል
ብ፡የዋህ፡ለሥርየተ፡ኃጢአት፡
ወጌጋይ፡ወኢትዝከር፡አበሳሆ
ሙ፡ለሕዝብከ፡ዘገብሩ፡በኢያ
እምሮ፡ወእመኒ፡በአእምሮ፡
ጸጉ፡ዕረፍተ።ለእለ፡ኖሙ፡አበዊ፡
ወአኃዊነ፡ወአኃቲነ፡ዕቀቦሙ፡ወ





እኩቶን፡ወዘቲ፡ሥርዓት፡ቅድ
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ራት፡ወሀብያን፡ሕይወት፡ዘውእቱ፡፡
ሥጋሁ፡ወደሙ፡ክቡር፡ለእግዚእ፡
ወአምላክነ፡ወመድኃኒነ፡ኢየሱስ፡
ክርስቶስ፡እስመ፡ምሉእ፡ወቅ
ዱስ፡ለብሐት፡ለምክ፡ቅዱስ፡አ
ብ፡ወወልድ፡ወመንፈስ፡ቅዱ
ስ፡፡ይእ፡ወዘ፡ወለ፡ዓ፡ለሜ፡፡
[illegible]
[illegible] ብሔር፡አምላክነ፡ወመ
ድኃኒነ፡ኢየሱስ፡ክርስቶስ፡
ዘሎቱ፡መዘግብቲሁ፡ዘም
ሉእ፡ሠዘለ፡ወምሕረቱ፡፡
ትበቤ፡ሥናይት፡ለኵሎሙ፡እ
ለ፡ይትዌከሉ፡ቦቱ፡ዘለፍሐ፡
ስሚዖት፡በዋበሁ፡ወወሀበ፡
ኀርመቱ፡ውቶሙ፡ለመልን
ዓት፡ወለደመናት፡ወለስ
ማያት፡ሳቡ፡ወይእዜኒ፡
እምላክነ፡መፍቀሬ፡ሰብእ፡
ለቅሩጽ፡እደክ፡ወሤይለ፡
መሰኮትከሰ ዕለ፡ዝንቱ፡እ
ልባስ፡እለ፡ጥብሉለን፡ዘደ

ከጽኑ፡፡ሥጋከ፡ቅዱስ፡ዘፈና
ከ፡ኃይለከ፡፡ለዕለ፡ዝንቱ፡
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ለ፡ሥጋከ፡ቅዱስ፡ዘውስተ፡መ
ቃብር፡ሰይከን፡እሉሂ፡በእ
ምሳሊሆሙ፡ለዕለ፡ዘበስማ
ያት፡፡እስመ፡ዕከ፡ስብሐት፡
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ቡሁ፡ወመንፈስ፡ቅዱስ፡ይ
እዜኒ፡ወዘልፈኒ፡ወለዓለመ
ዓለ፡አሜ፡፡ወካዕበ፡ይብጽ
ውስጡ፡ወይሰግድ፡ቅድ
መ፡ታቦት፡፡ወእምዝ፡ጸ
ሎት፡ዘዮሐንስ፡፡እግዚአብ
ሔር፡አምላክነ፡ዘይነብር፡ዲ
በ፡መላእክት፡ወሊቃነ፡መ
ላእክት፡ኀጋእዝት፡ወሥልጣ
ናት፡ኪሩቤል፡ወሱራፌል፡ዘ
ውእቱ፡ቅድመ፡ኵሉ፡ፍጥረ
ት፡ሕልው፡ውእቱ፡መልዕልተ፡
ኵሉ፡ስብሐት፡ዘእንሥኦሙ፡ለ
ሙታን፡ወለትሑሃን፡እም
ድር፡ወዓልዓሎሙ፡ውስተ፡ሰ
ማያት፡ዘመራህከ፡ሕዝበ፡
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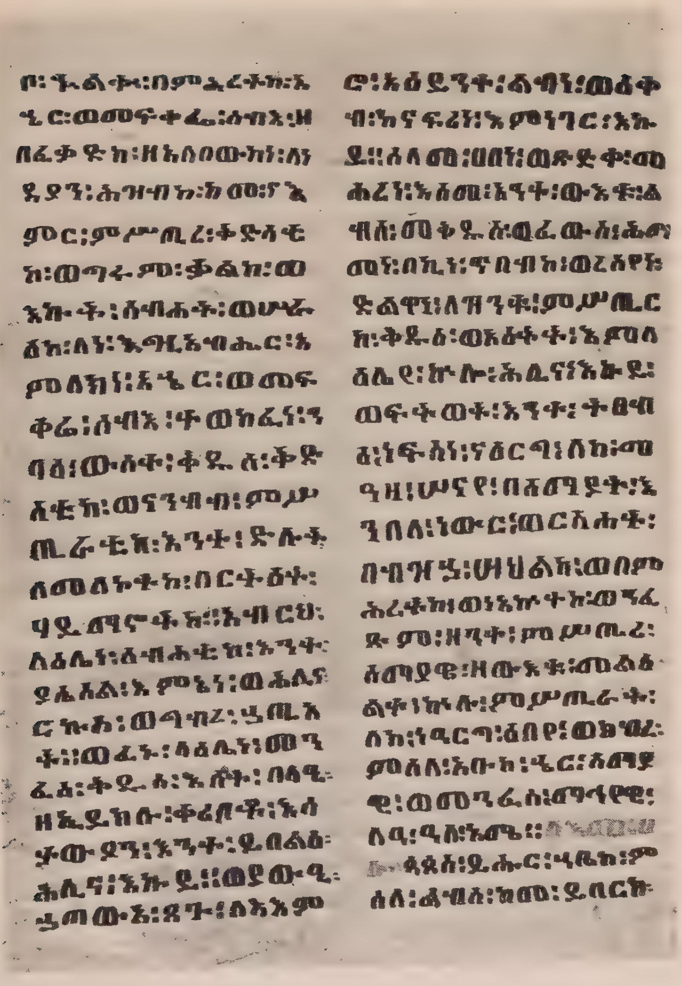

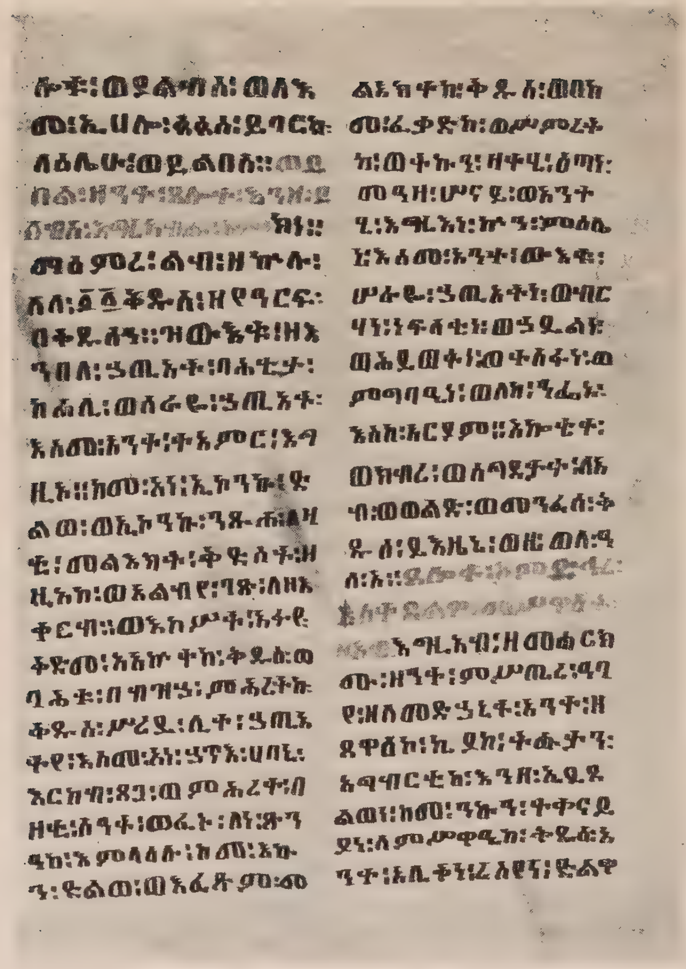

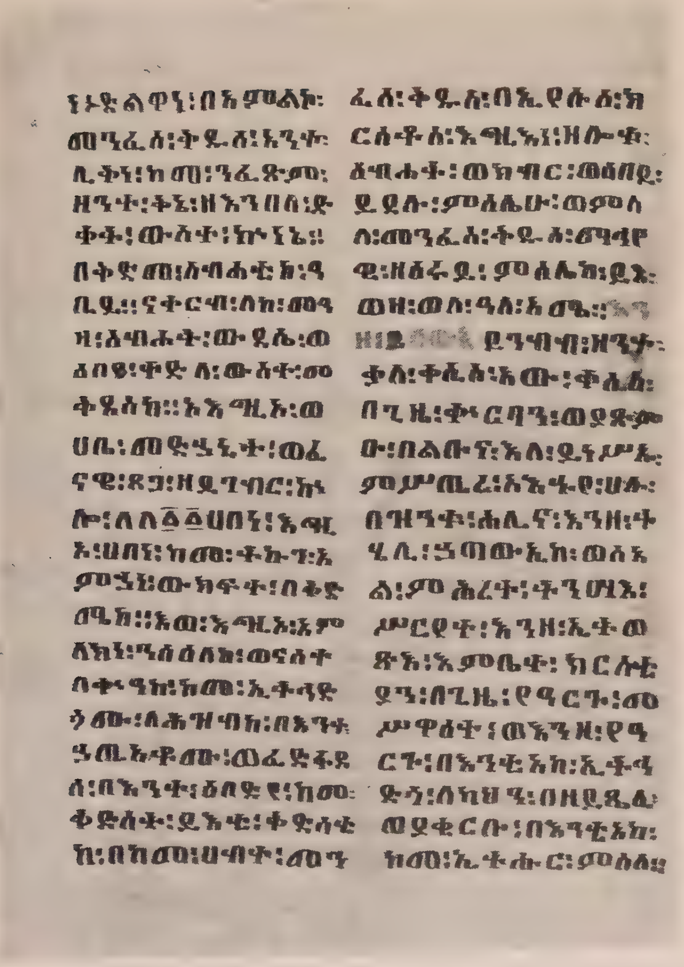

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መንፈስ፡ቅዱስ፡ኢንሡ፡
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ዘንተ፡ቅኔ፡ዘእንበለ፡ድ
ቀቅ፡ውስተ፡ኵነኔ።
በቅድመ፡ስብሐቲከ፡ዓ
ቢይ። ናቀርብ፡ለከ፡መባ
ዘ፡ስብሐት፡ውዳሴ፡ወ
ልበዩ፡ቀድለ፡ውስተ፡መ
ቅደስከ። እግዚኦ፡ወ
ሀቤ፡መድኃኒት፡ወፈ
ናዊ፡ጸጋ፡ዘይገብር፡ኵ
ሎ፡ለለ፩፩ሀበነ፡እግዚ
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ምኃኒ፡ውክፍተ፡በቅድ
ሜከ። እወ፡እግዚኦ፡እም
ላክነ፡ንሰብለከ፡ወናስተ
ብቍዓከ፡ከመ፡ኢትግድ
ፎሙ፡ለሕዝብከ፡በእንተ፡
ኃጢአቶሙ፡ወፈድፋደ
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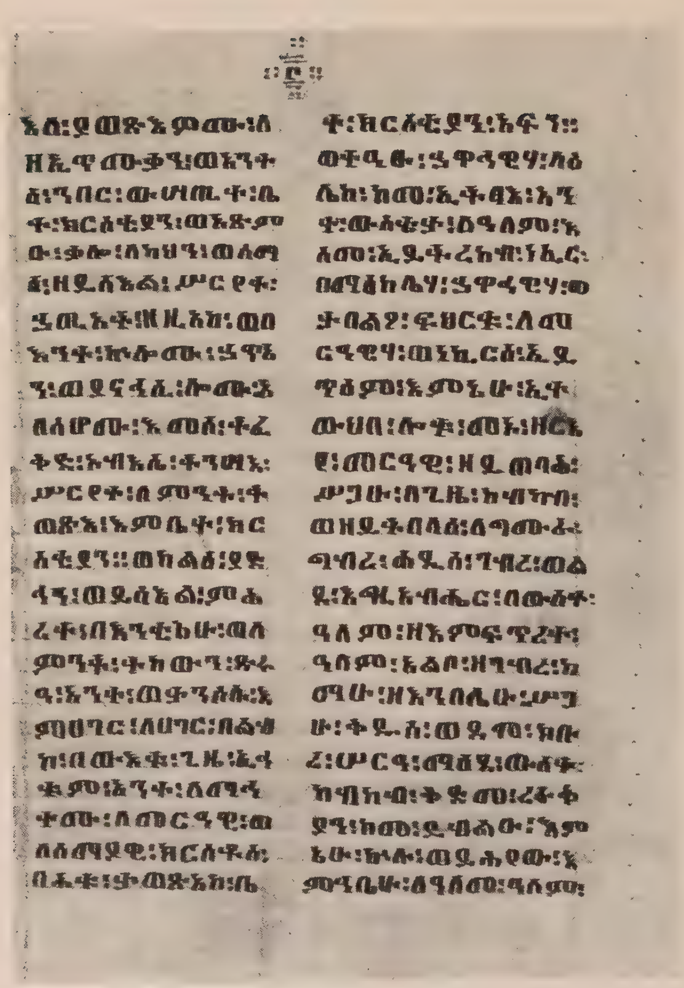
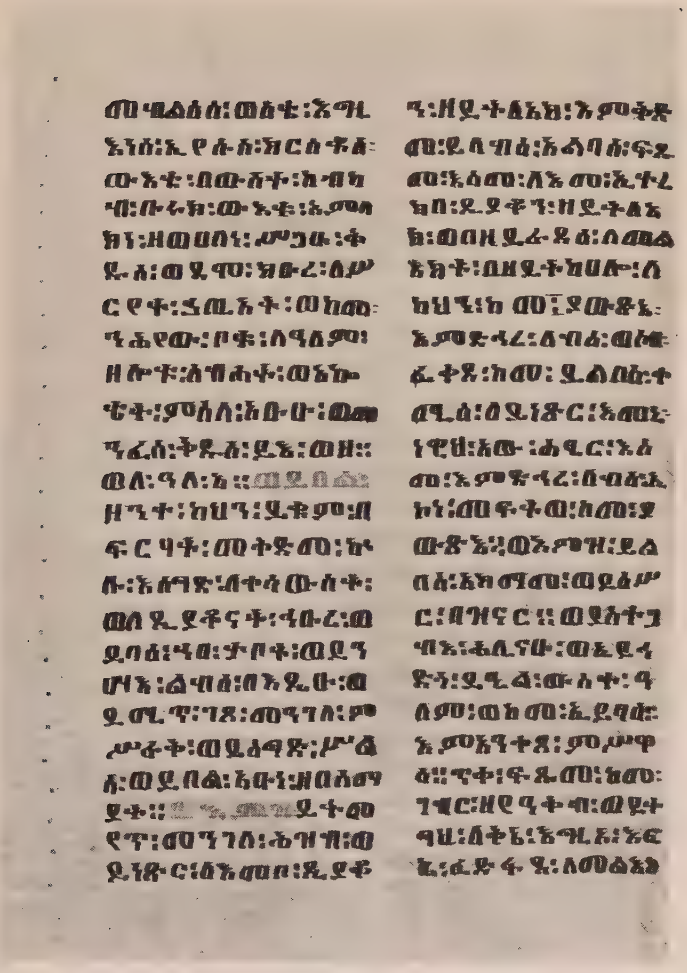
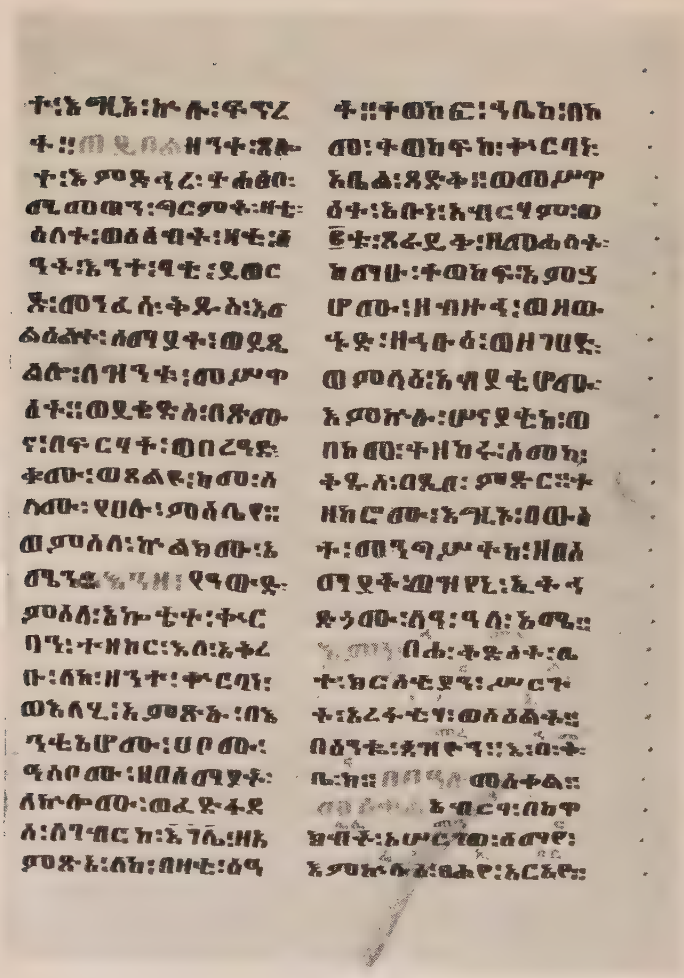
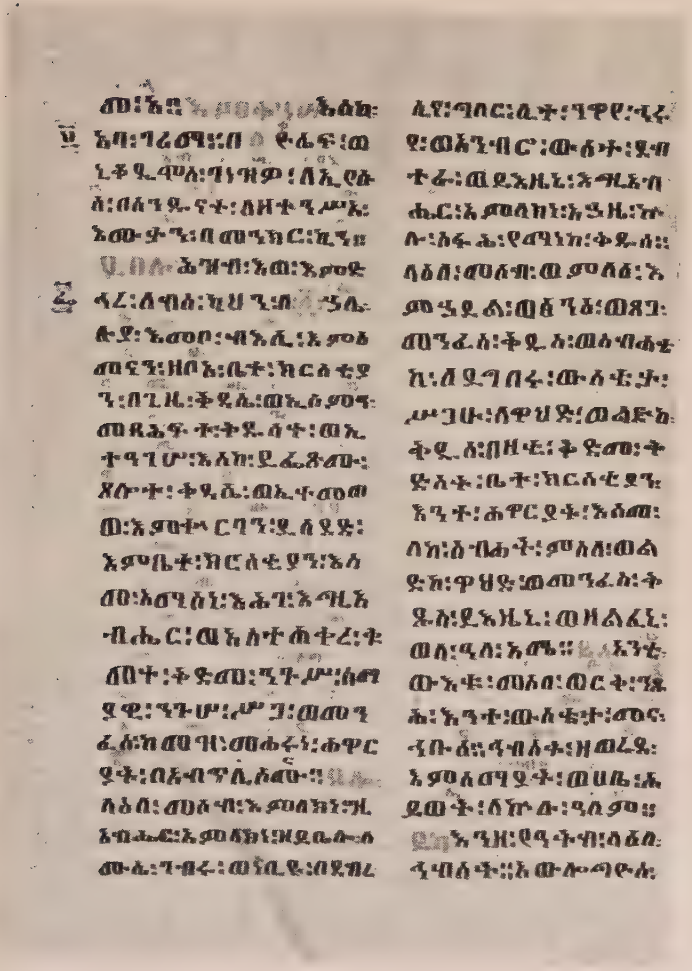
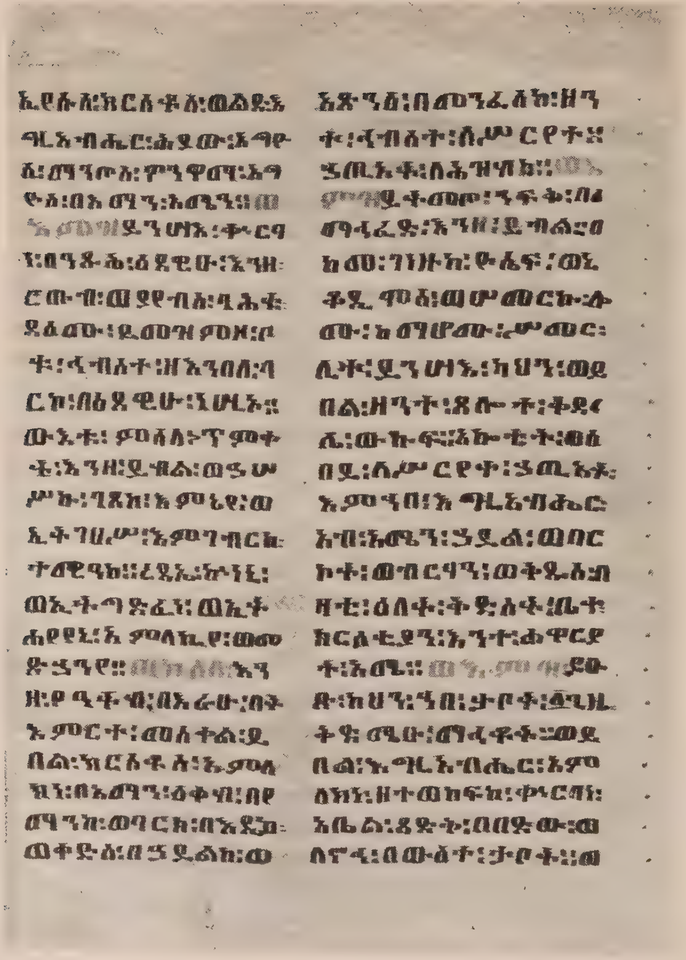
ፈስ፡ቅዱስ፡በኢየሱስ፡ክ
ርስቶስ፡እግዚእነ፡ዘሎቱ፡
ስብሐት፡ወክብር፡ወዕበይ፡
ይደሉ፡ምስሌሁ፡ወምስ
ለ፡መንፈስ፡ቅዱስ፡ሰማያ
ዊ፡ዘዕሩይ፡ምስሌከ፡ይእ፡
ወዘ፡ወለ፡ዓለ፡አሜን። እን
ዘ፡ይ [illegible] ይንብብ፡ዘንታ፡
ቃለ፡ቀሲስ፡አው፡ቀሲስ፡
በጊዜ፡ቍርባን፡ወይጸው
ሙ፡በልቡና፡እለ፡ይትሜኤ፡
ምሥጢረ፡ሕኑዩ፡ሀሎ፡
በዝንቱ፡ሕሊና፡እንዘ፡ተ
ፈሊ፡ኃጠውኢከ፡ወሰኩ
ል፡ምሕረት፡ትንሣኤ፡
ሥርየተ፡እንዘ፡ኢተወ
ድአ፡እምቤተ፡ክርስቲ
ያን፡በጊዜ፡የዓርጉ፡መ
ሥዋዕተ፡ወእንዘ፡የዓ
ርጉ፡በእንቲአሁ፡ኢትቁ
ድኣ፡ለካህን፡በዘይጼሊ፡
ወይቄርቡ፡በእንቲአሁ፡
ከመ፡ኢትሑር፡ምስሌሁ።

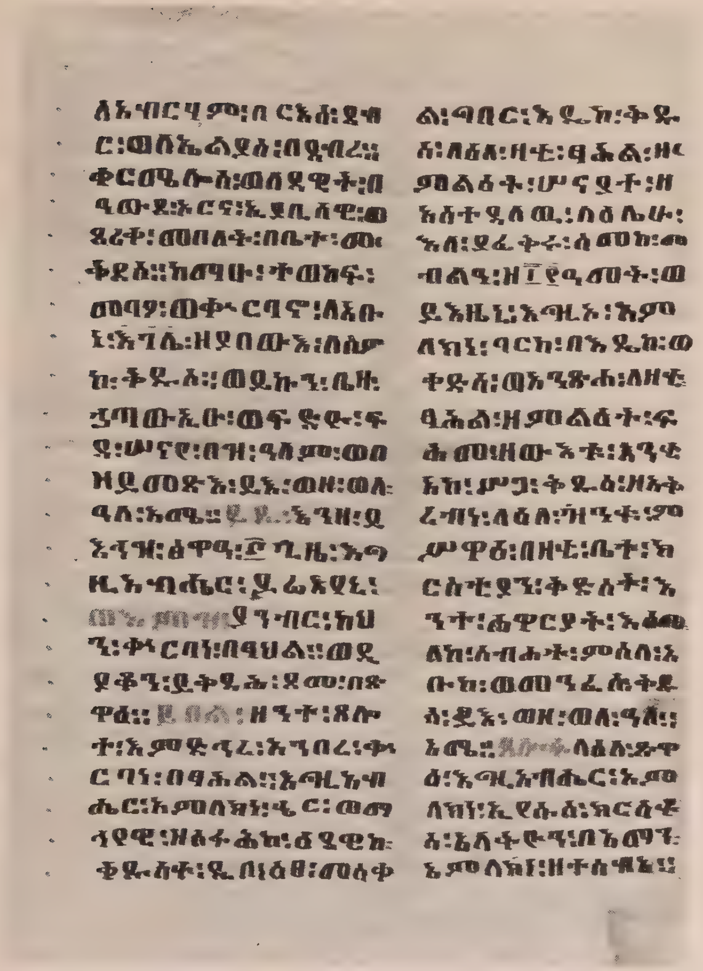


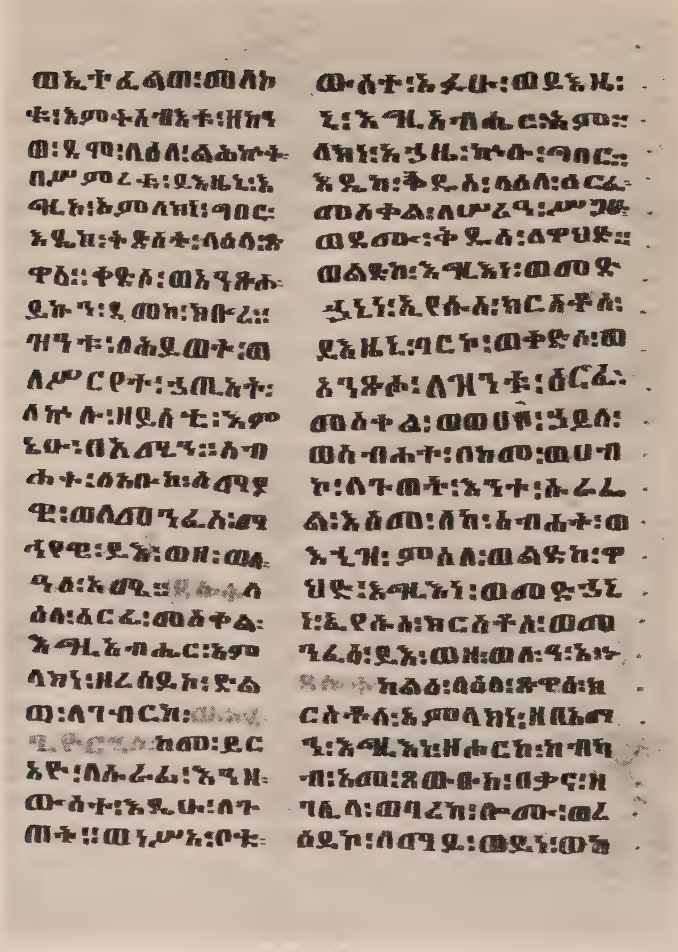






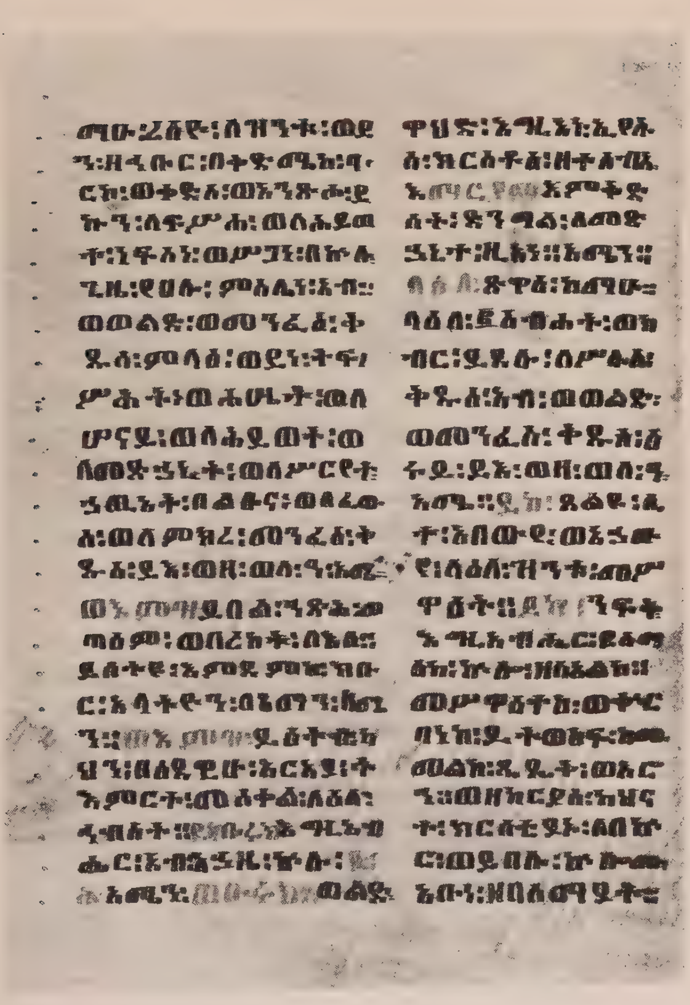


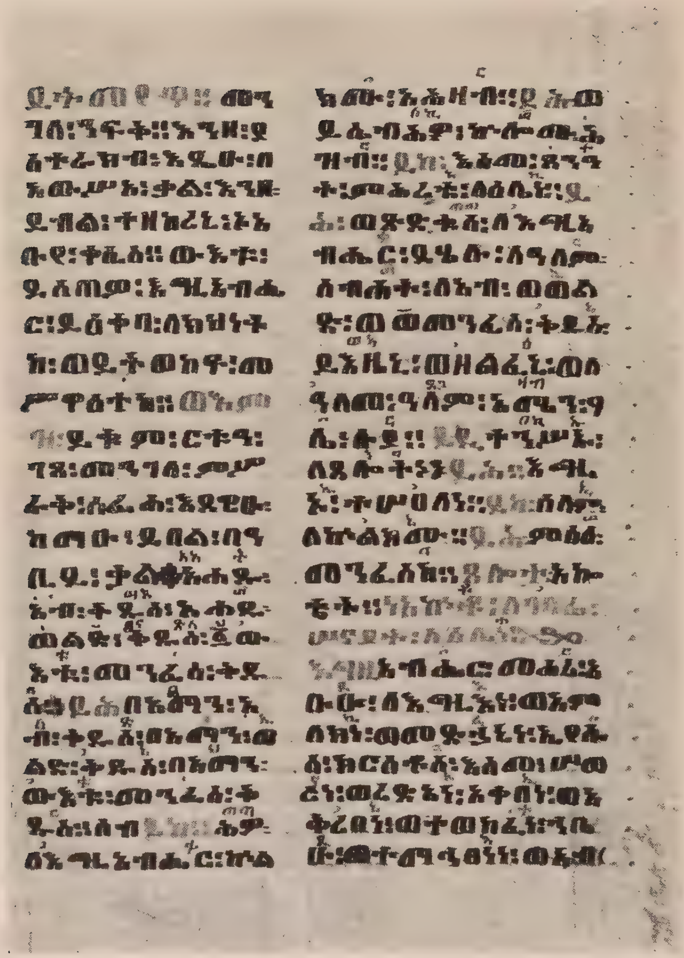


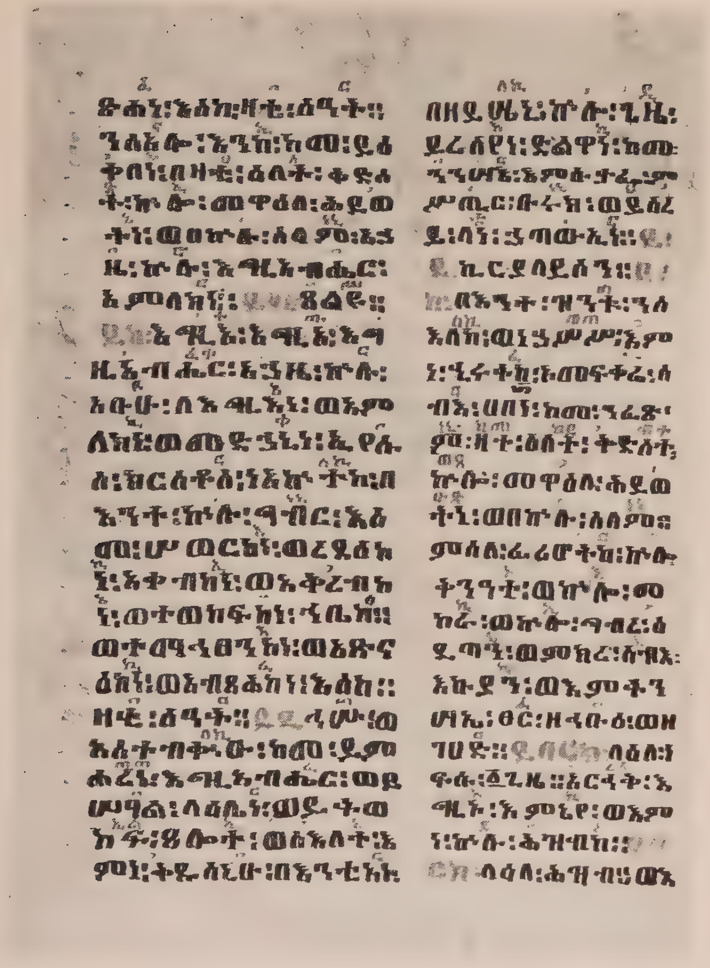


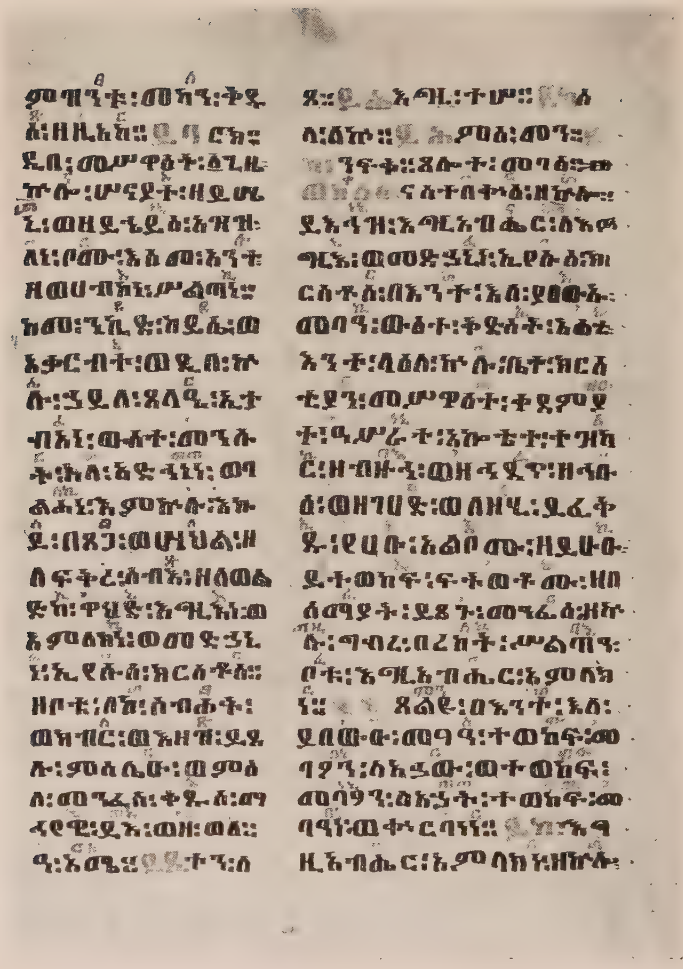
ወኢተፈልጠ፡መለኮ
ቱ፡እምትስብእቱ፡ዘከማ
ሁ፡ደየ፡ለዐለ፡ልሕኵት፡
በሥምረቱ፡ይእዜኒ፡እ
ግዚእ፡አምላክነ፡ማበር፡
እዴከ፡ቅድስተ፡ላዕለ፡ጽ
ዋዕ፡፡ቀድሶ፡ወአንጽሖ፡
ይኩን፡ደመከ፡ክቡረ፡፡
ዝንቱ፡ለሕይወት፡ወ
ለሥርየተ፡ኃጢአት፡
ለኵሉ፡ዘይሰቲ፡እም
ኔሁ፡በአሚን፡፡ስብ
ሐት፡ለአቡከ፡ሰማያ
ዊ፡ወለመንፈስ፡ማ
ኅየዊ፡ይእ፡ወዘ፡ወለ
ዓለ፡ዓለሚ፡፡ዲያቆን፡ላ
ዕለ፡ዕርፈ፡መስቀል፡
እግዚአብሔር፡እም
ላክነ፡ዘረሰይከ፡ድል
ወ፡ለገብርከ፡[illegible]
[illegible] ከመ፡ይር
አዮ፡ለሱራፌ፡እንዘ፡
ውእቱ፡እጺሁ፡በጉ
ጠት፡፡ወነሥአ፡ቦቱ፡

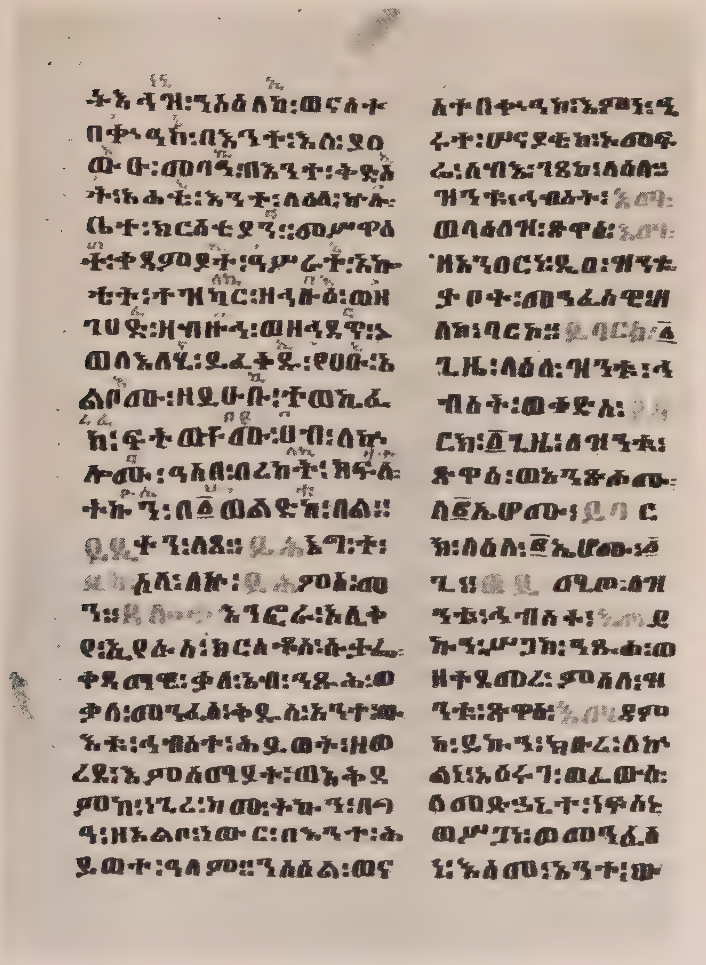
ውእቱ፡እፉሁ፡ወይእዜ
ኒ፡እግዚአብሔር፡እም
ላክነ፡አኃዜ፡ኵሉ፡ማበር፡፡
እዴከ፡ቅዱስ፡ላዕለ፡ዕርፈ
መስቀል፡ለሠሪዓ፡ሥጋሁ
ወደሙ፡ቅዱስ፡ለዋህድ፡፡
ወልድከ፡እግዚእነ፡ወመድ
ኃኒነ፡ኢየሱስ፡ክርስቶስ፡
ይእዜኒ፡ባርኮ፡ወቀድሶ፡ወ
አንጽሖ፡ለዝንቱ፡ዕርፈ፡
መስቀል፡ወወሀቦ፡ኃይለ፡
ወስብሐተ፡በከመ፡ወሀብ
ኮ፡ለጉጠት፡እንተ፡ሱራፌ
ል፡እስመ፡ለከ፡ስብሐት፡ወ
እኂዝ፡ምስለ፡ወልድከ፡ዋ
ህድ፡እግዚእነ፡ወመድኃኒ
ነ፡ኢየሱስ፡ክርስቶስ፡ወመ
ንፈስ፡ይእ፡ወዘ፡ወለ፡ዓ፡እኅ
[illegible] ካልዕ፡ላዕለ፡ጽዋዕ፡ክ
ርስቶስ፡አምላክነ፡ዘበአማ
ኔ፡እግዚእነ፡ዘሖርከ፡ከብካ
ብ፡እመ፡ጸውዑከ፡በቃና፡ዘ
ገሊላ፡ወባረከ፡ሎሙ፡ወረ
ሰይኮ፡ለማይ፡ወይነ፡ወኅ

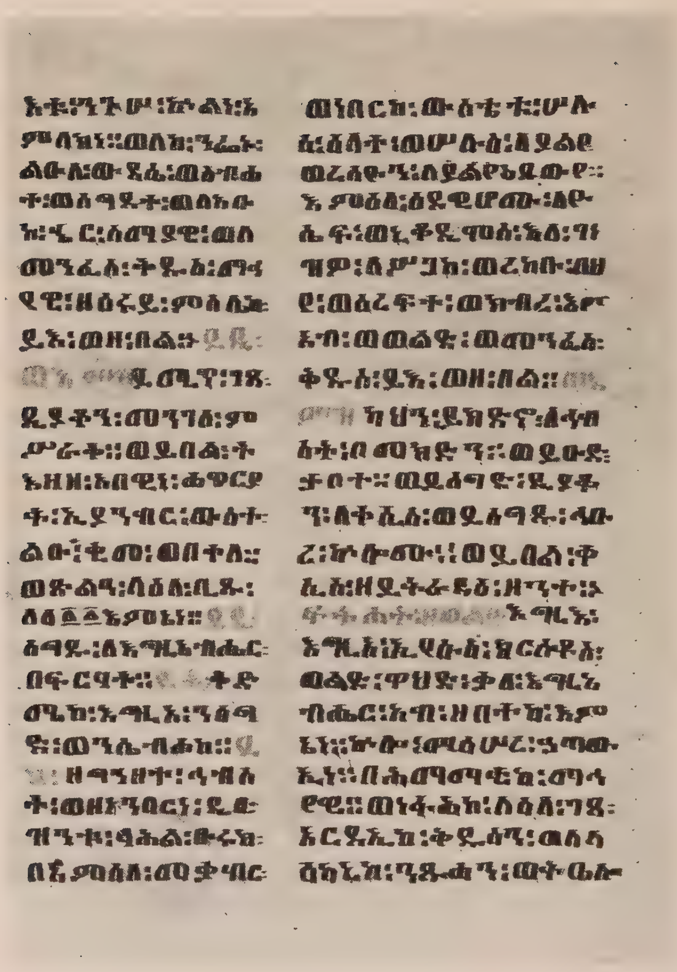


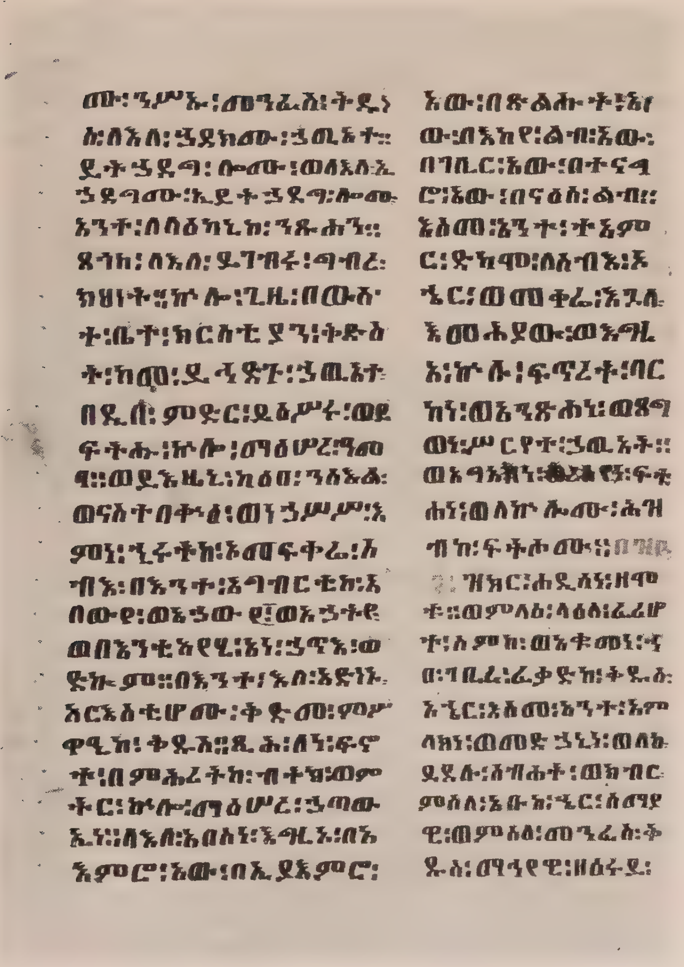


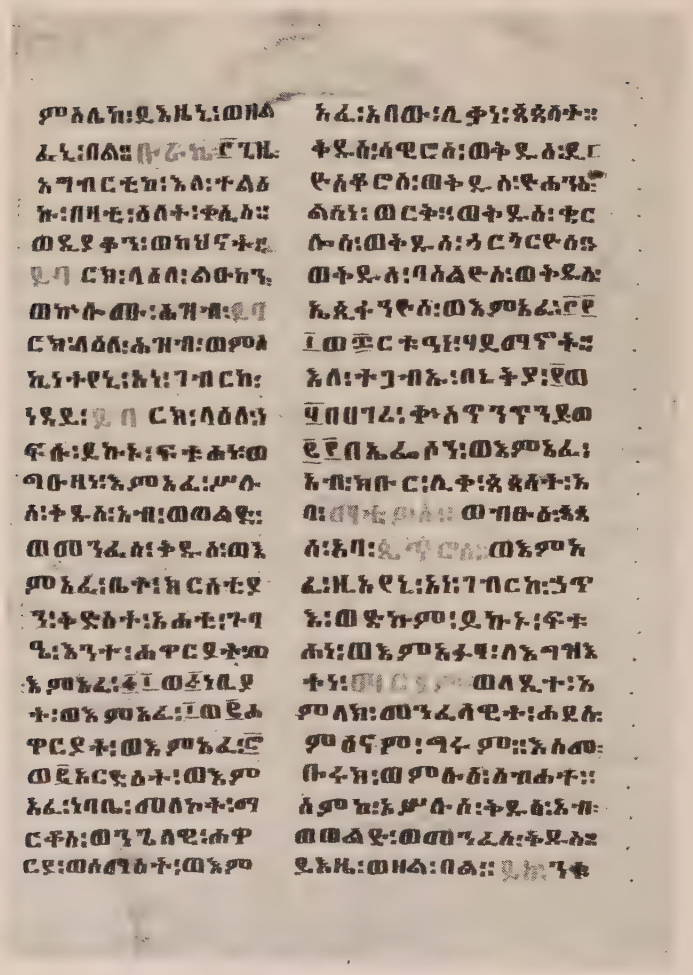






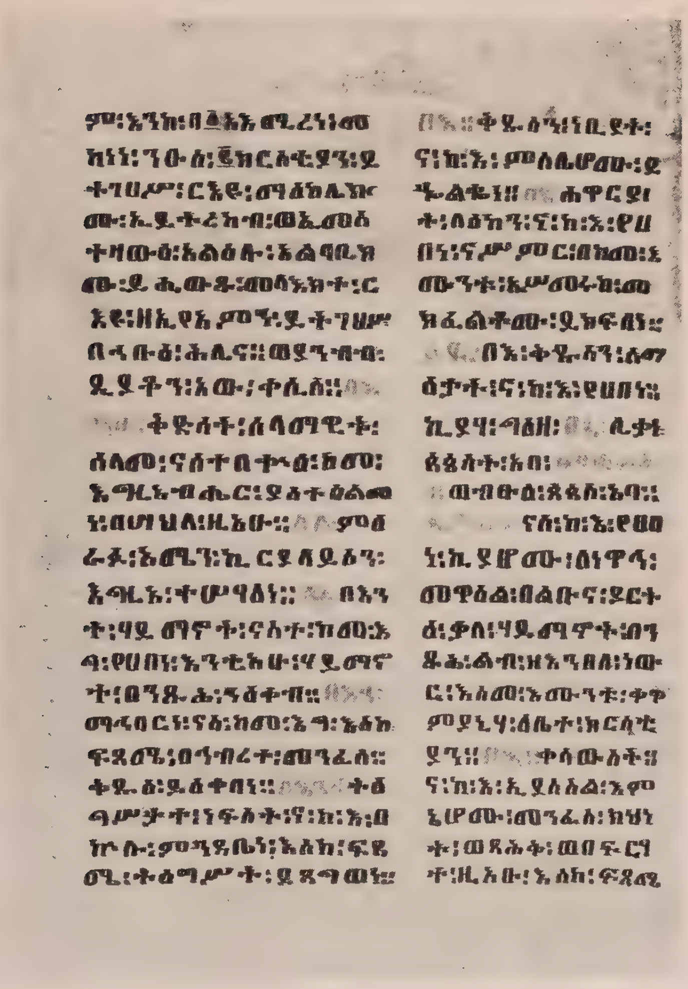


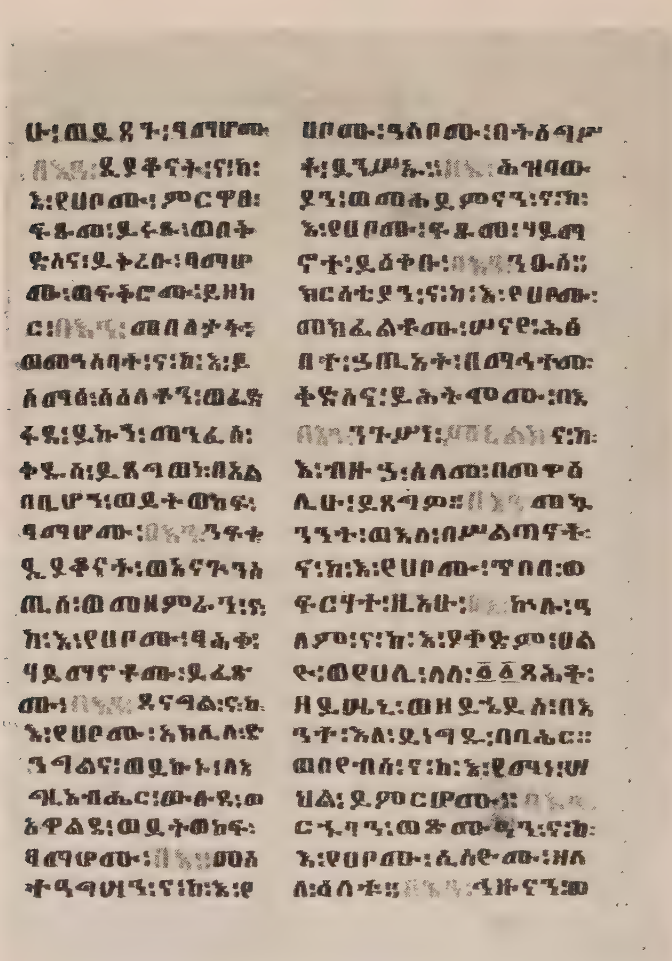


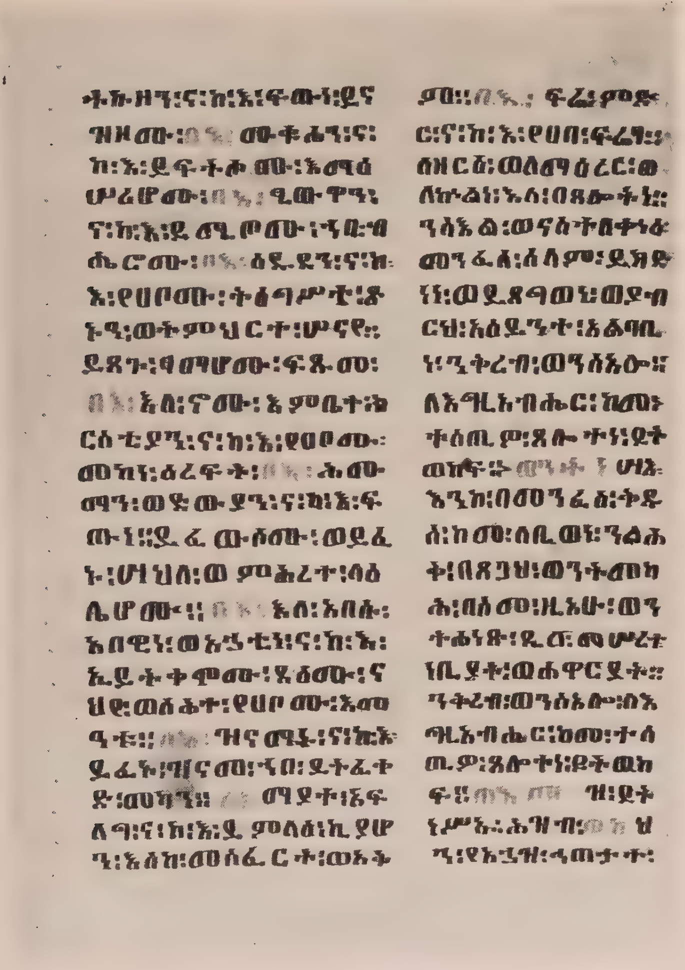


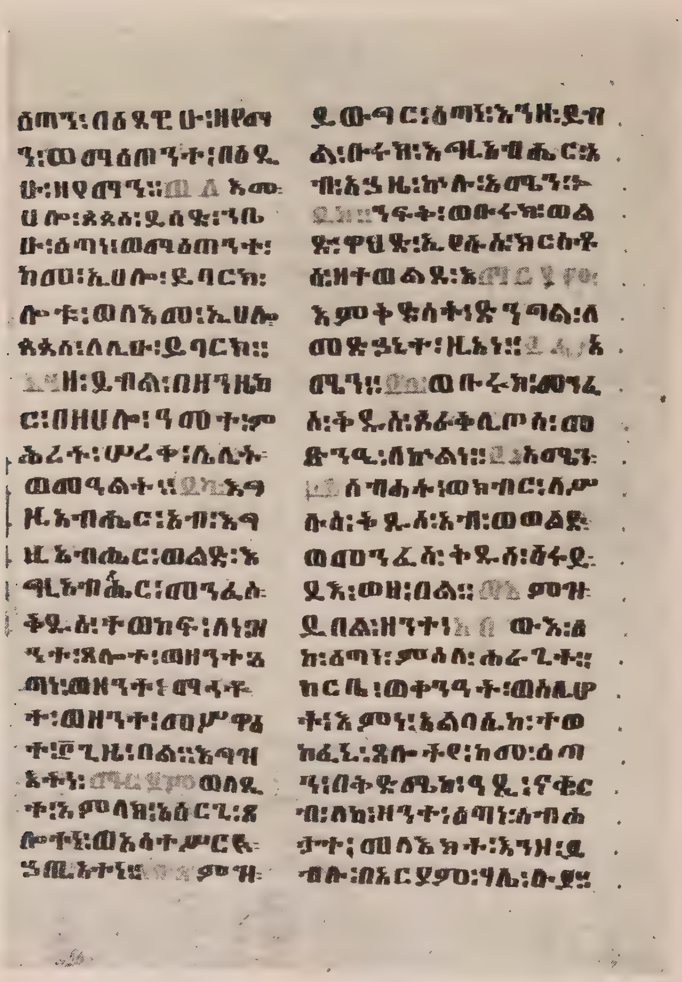
ምእሌኒ፡ይእዜኒ፡ወዘለ
ፈኒ፡በል። ሙራኬ ፫ ጊዜ
አግብርቲከ፡እለ፡ተልዕ
ኩ፡በዛቲ፡ዕለት፡ቀዲስ።
ወጼዖ ቁኑ፡ወከህናተ፡ዩ
ይባ ርክ፡ላዕለ፡ልዑክኒ
ወኰሉሙ፡ሕዝብ፡ይባ
ርክ፡ላዕለ፡ሕዝብ፡ወምእ
ኪነትዮኒ፡እኑ፡ገብርከ፡
ነዳይ፡ይባ ርክ፡ላዕለን
ፍሉ፡ይኩኑ፡ፍቱሐነ፡ወ
ግሁዛነ፡እምአፈ፡ሥሉ
ስ፡ቅዱስ፡አብ፡ወወልድ፡
ወመንፈስ፡ቅዱስ፡ወእ
ምአፈ፡ቤተ፡ክርስቲያ
ን፡ቅድስት፡እሐቲ፡ጉባ
ኤ፡እንተ፡ሐዋርያት፡ወ
እምአፈ፡፲ወ፭ነቢያ
ት፡ወእምአፈ፡፲ወ፪ሐ
ዋርያት፡ወእምአፈ፡፸
ወ፪ አርድእት፡ወእም
አፈ፡ነባቤ፡መለኮት፡ማ
ርቆስ፡ወንጌላዊ፡ሐዋ
ርያ፡ወሰማዕት፡ወእም

አፈ፡አበዊነ፡ሊቃነ፡ጳጳሳት።
ቅዱስ፡ሰዊሮስ፡ወቅዱስ፡ዲ
ዮስቆሮስ፡ወቅዱስ፡ዮሐንስ፡
ልሳነ፡ወርቅ፡ወቅዱስ፡ቄር
ሎስ፡ወቅዱስ፡ጎርጎርዮስ፡
ወቅዱስ፡ባስልዮስ፡ወቅዱስ፡
ኤጲፋንዮስ፡ወእምአፈ፡፫፻
፲ወ፰ ርቱዓ፡ሃይማኖት።
እለ፡ተጋብኡ፡በኒቅያ፡፻ወ
፶ በሀገረ፡ቍስጥንጥንያ፡ወ
፪፻ በኤፌሶን፡ወእምአፈ፡
አብ፡ክቡር፡ሊቀ፡ጳጳሳት፡አ
ባ፡[illegible] ወብፁዕ፡ጳጳ
ስ፡አባ፡[illegible] ወእምአ
ፈ፡ዚአየኒ፡እኑ፡ገብርከ፡ኃጥ
እ፡ወድኩም፡ይኩኑ፡ፍቱ
ሐነ፡ወእምአፉ፡ለእግዝእ
ትነ፡[illegible] ወላዲተ፡አ
ምላክ፡መንፈሳዊት፡ሐይሉ
ምዕናም፡ማሪም።እስመ፡
ቡሩክ፡ወምሉእ፡ስብሐት።
ስምከ፡እምሥሉስ፡ቅዱስ፡አብ፡
ወወልድ፡ወመንፈስ፡ቅዱስ።
ይእዜ፡ወዘለ፡በል። ዲያቆን



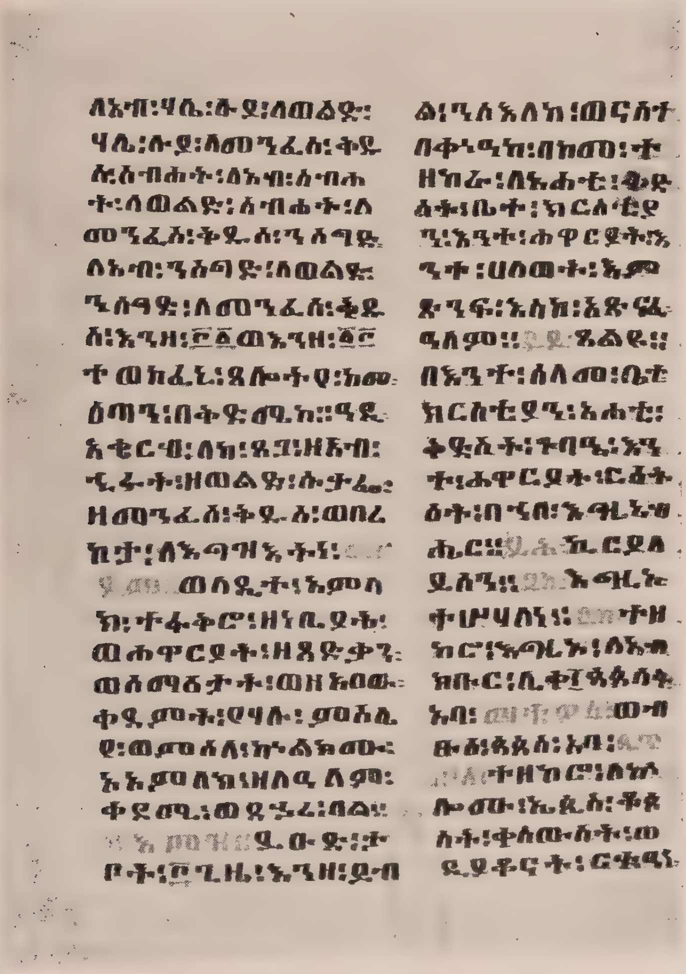




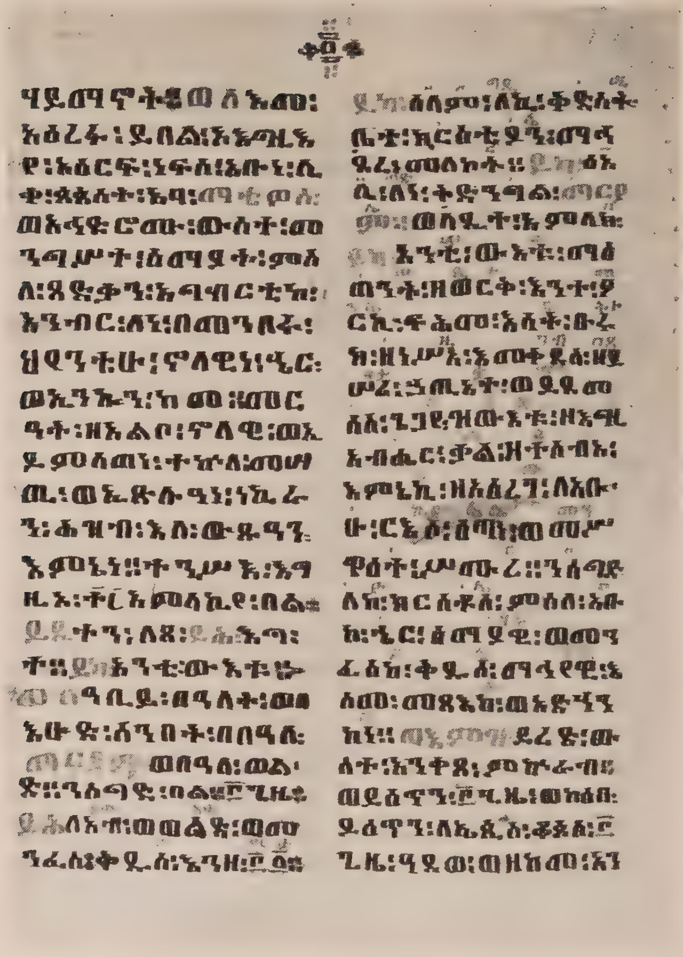


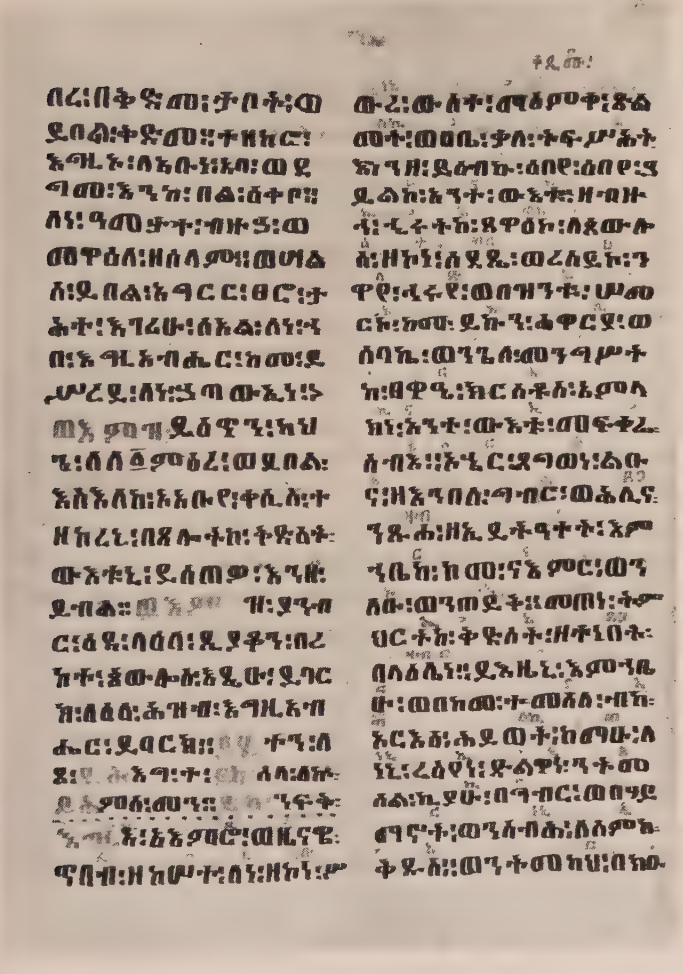
ዐጠኑ፡ በዕጸዊሁ፡ ዘየማ
ን፡ ወማዕጠንቱ፡ በዕጸ
ዊሁ፡ ዘፀጋሙ። [illegible] ኢመ፡
ሀሎ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ዲያቈ፡ ካህ
ሁ፡ ዕጣኑ፡ ወማዕጠንቱ፡
ከማሁ፡ ኢሀሎ፡ ይባርክ፡
ሎቱ፡ ወበእመ፡ ኢሀሎ፡
ጳጳስ፡ ለሊሁ፡ ይባርክ።
[illegible] ዘ፡ ይብል፡ በዘንዜከ
ር፡ በዘሀሎ፡ ዓመት፡ ም
ሕረት፡ ሠረቀ፡ ሌሊት፡
ወመዓልት። [illegible] እግ
ዚአብሔር፡ አብ፡ እግ
ዚአብሔር፡ ወልድ፡ እ
ግዚአብሔር፡ መንፈስ፡
ቅዱስ፡ ተወከፍ፡ ለነዝ
ኄት፡ ጸሎት፡ ወዘንተ፡ ዕ
ጣነ፡ ወዘንተ፡ ማኅቶ
ተ፡ ወዘንተ፡ መሥዋዕ
ተ፡ ፫ ጊዜ፡ በል። እግዚ
እትነ፡ [illegible] ወለዲ
ተ፡ እምለክ፡ ኔሰርጊ፡ ጸ
ሎትኪ፡ ወአስተምርኪ፡
ኝቤእትኒ። [illegible] ምግ፡

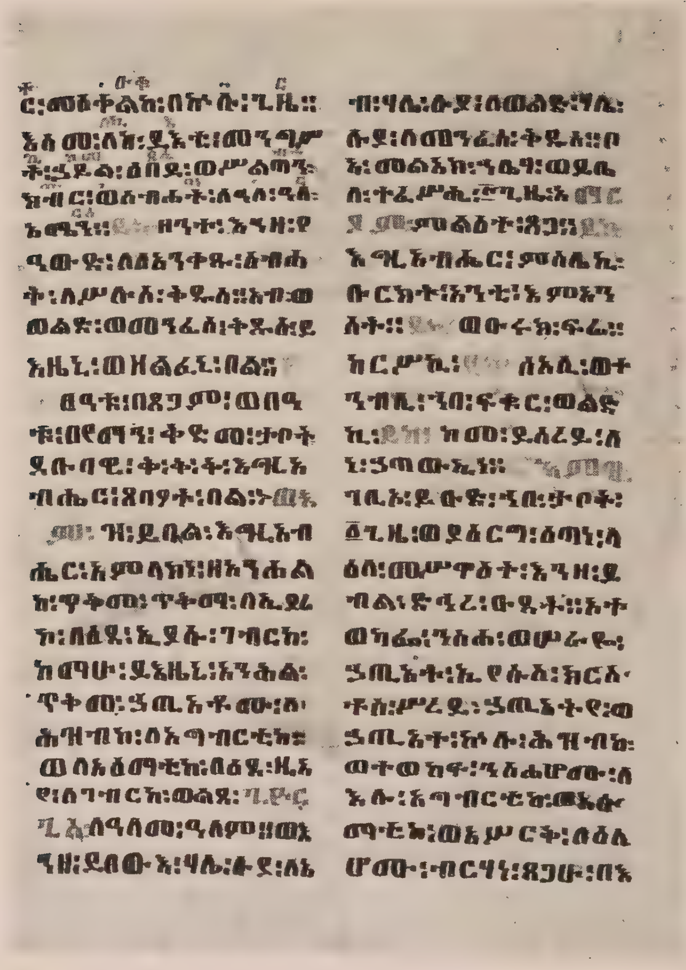
ይውዓር፡ ዕጣነ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብ
ል፡ ቡሩክ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አ
ብ፡ አኃዜ፡ ኵሉ፡ አሜን፡ ፦
[illegible] ንፍቅ፡ ወቡሩክ፡ ወል
ድ፡ ዋህድ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶ
ስ፡ ዘተወልደ፡ እ[illegible]
እምቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ ለ
መድኃኒት፡ ዚአነ። [illegible] አ
ሜን። [illegible] ወቡሩክ፡ መንፈ
ስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ጰራቅሊጦስ፡ መ
ድኀኒ፡ ለኵልነ። [illegible] አሜን፡
[illegible] ስብሐት፡ ወክብር፡ ለም
ሉእ፡ ቅዱስ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡
ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዕሩይ፡
ይእ፡ ወዘ፡ በል። [illegible] ምግ
ይበል፡ ዘንተ፡ [illegible] ውእቱ፡ ዕ
ከ፡ ዕጣን፡ ምስለ፡ ሐራጊት።
ክርቤ፡ ወቀናንት፡ ወስሒሆ
ት፡ እምነ፡ እልበሌክ፡ ተወ
ከፈኒ፡ ጸሎትየ፡ ከመ፡ ዕጣ
ን፡ በቅድሜከ፡ ዓዲ፡ ናቄር
ብ፡ ለከ፡ ዘንተ፡ ዕጣነ፡ ስብሐ
ት፡ ወለእክትኒ፡ እንዘ፡ ይ
ብሉ፡ በእርሃም፡ ዓሌ፡ ሡይ።

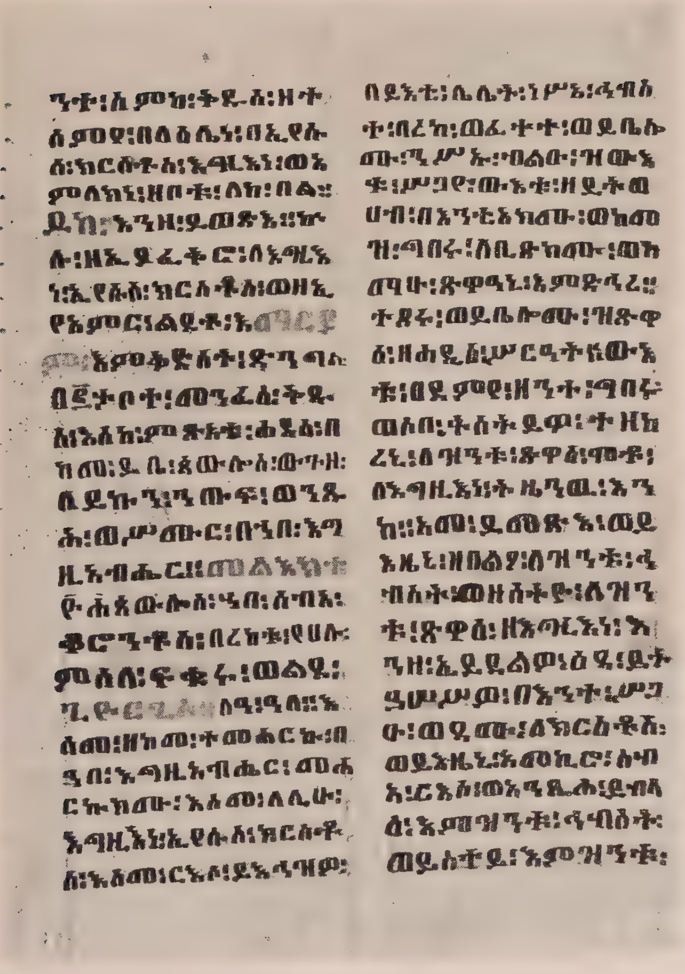


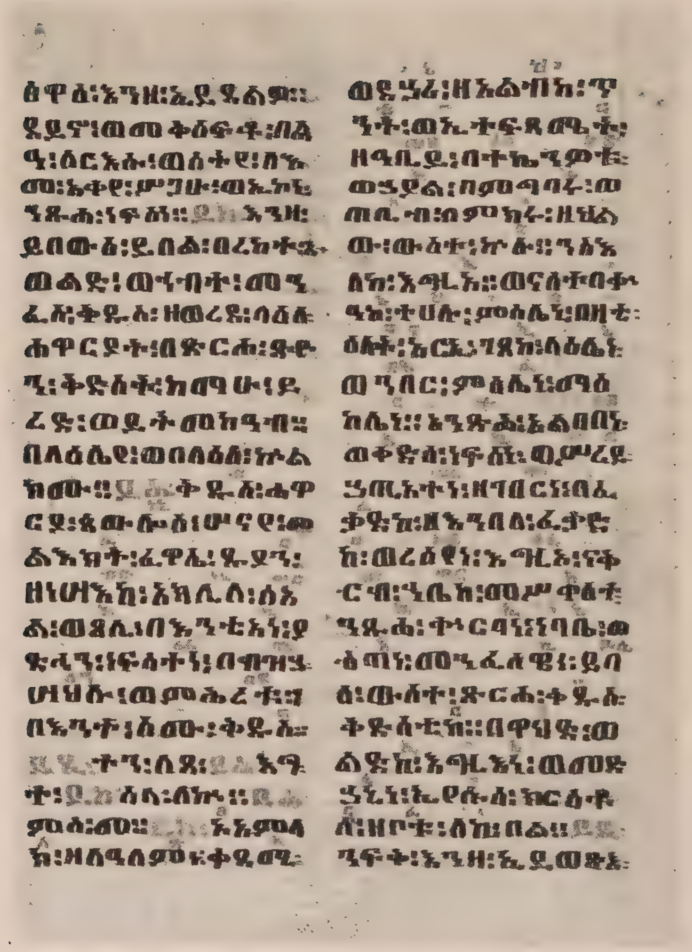
ለአብ፡ሃሌ፡ሉያ፡ለወልድ፡
ሃሌ፡ሉያ፡ለመንፈስ፡ቅዱ
ስ፡ስብሐት፡ለአብ፡ስብሐ
ት፡ለወልድ፡ስብሐት፡ለ
መንፈስ፡ቅዱስ፡ንሰግድ፡
ለአብ፡ንሰግድ፡ለወልድ፡
ንሰግድ፡ለመንፈስ፡ቅዱ
ስ፡እግዚ፡፫፩ወእግዚ፡፩፫
ተ ወከፈኒ፡ጸሎትየ፡ከመ፡
ዕጣን፡በቅድሜከ፡፡ዲያ
አቄርብ፡ለከ፡ጸጋ፡ዘአብ፡
ፍሩት፡ዘወልድ፡ሱታፌ፡
ዘመንፈስ፡ቅዱስ፡ወበረ
ከት፡ለእግዚእትነ፡[illegible]
[illegible] ወላዲት፡እምለ
ክ፡ተፈቅሮ፡ዘነበ፡ያሕ፡
ወሐዋርያት፡ዘጸድቃን፡
ወሰማዕታት፡ወዘኵሎሙ፡
ቅዱሳን፡የሃሉ፡ምስሌ
ነ፡ወምስለ፡ኵልክሙ፡
ኦአምላክ፡ዘለዓለም፡
ቀደሚ፡ወደኃሪ፡በሉ፡
[illegible] ዲሁድ፡ታ
ቦቱ፡፫ጊዜ፡እግዚ፡ይብ
ል፡ንሰእለከ፡ወናስተ
በቍዓከ፡በከመ፡ተ
ዘከሮ፡ለአሐቲ፡ቅድ
ስት፡ቤተ፡ክርስቲያ
ን፡እንተ፡ሐዋርያት፡እን
ተ፡ሀለወት፡እም
ጽንፍ፡እስከ፡አጽናፈ፡
ዓለም፡፡ዲያ፡ጸልዩ፡፡
በእንተ፡ሰላመ፡ቤተ
ክርስቲያን፡አሐቲ፡
ቅድስት፡ኵባሬ፡እን
ተ፡ሐዋርያት፡ርቱዕ
ዕት፡በኀበ፡እግዚአብ
ሔር፡፡ሕዝ፡ኪርያለ
ይሶን፡፡[illegible] እግዚኦ
ተሣሀለነ፡፡[illegible] ተዘ
ክር፡እግዚኦ፡ለአብ
ክቡር፡ሊቀ፡፲ጳጳሳ
ት፡[illegible] ወብ
ፁዕ፡ጳጳስ፡አባ፡[illegible]
[illegible] ተዘከሮ፡ለኵ
ሎሙ፡ኤጲስ፡ቆጶ
ሳት፡ቀሳውስት፡ወ
ዲያቆናት፡ርቱዓን፡











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ዓ፡ዐርእሱ፡ወሰቀዮ፡በኩ
መ፡ኢቀዮ፡ምንሁ፡ወኢኮኔ
ንጹሐ፡ነፍሱ። [illegible] እንዘ፡
ይበውእ፡ይበል፡በረከተ
ወልድ፡ወኀብተ፡መን
ፈስቅዱስ፡ዘወረደ፡ላዕለ
ሐዋርያት፡በጽርሐ፡ጽዮ
ን፡ቅድስት፡ከማሁ፡ይ
ረድ፡ወይትመከዓብ።
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ዘነሥእከ፡አክሊለ፡ሰአ
ሐ፡ወጸሊ፡በእንቲአነ፡ያ
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ሣህሉ፡ወምሕረቱ።
በእንተ፡ሰሙ፡ቅዱስ።
[illegible] ትን፡ለጸ፡[illegible] እግ
ተ፡[illegible] ሰላ፡ለኵሉ። [illegible]
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ክ፡ዘሰዓለምነ፡ቀዲመ፡

ወዴኅሬ፡ዘአልብከ፡ጥ
ንተ፡ወኢተፍጻሜተ፡
ዘዒቢይ፡በተኰኒዎቱ፡
ወኃያል፡በምግባሩ፡ወ
ጠቢብ፡በምክሩ፡ዘሄሎ
ው፡ውስተ፡ኵሉ፡ንስእ
ለከ፡እግዚኦ፡ወናስተበቍ
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ከሌነ። እንጹሕ፡ኢልበነ፡
ወቀድስ፡ነፍሰ፡ወምረይ
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ቃዴነ፡ወእንበለ፡ፈቃዴ
ነ፡ወረሰየነ፡እግዚኦ፡ናቅ
ርብ፡ቅድሜከ፡መሥዋዕተ፡
ንጹሐ፡ቍርባነ፡ነባቤ፡ወ
ዕጣነ፡መንፈሳዌ፡ይበ
ቦ፡ውስተ፡ጽርሐ፡ቅዱሳ
ቅዱሳቲከ። በዋሕድ፡ወ
ልድከ፡እግዚእነ፡ወመድ
ኃኒነ፡ኢየሱስ፡ክርስቶ
ስ፡ዘቦቱ፡ለከ፡በል። [illegible]
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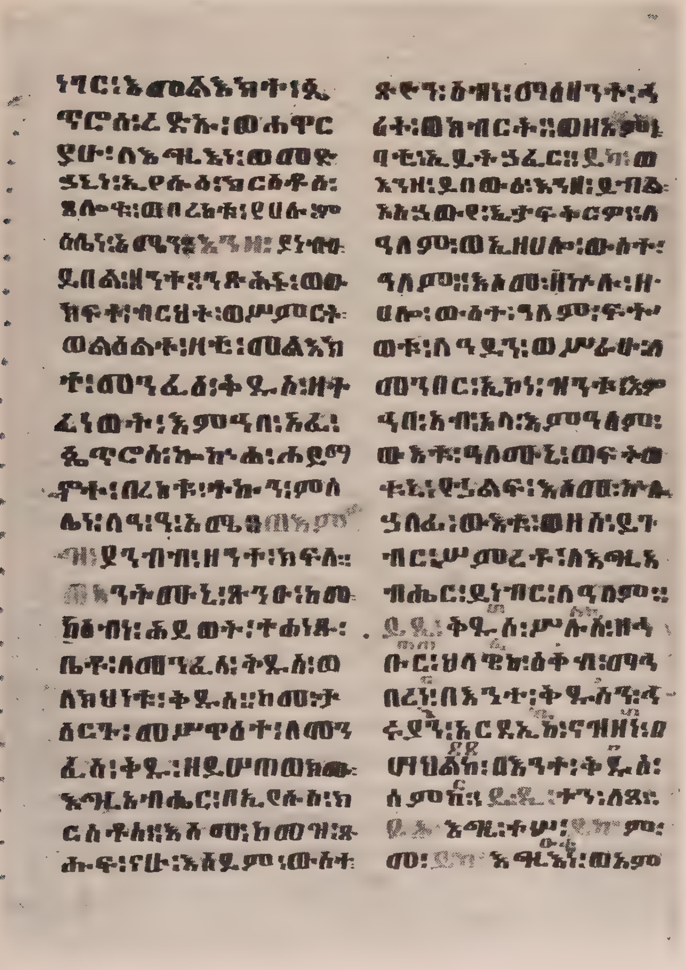

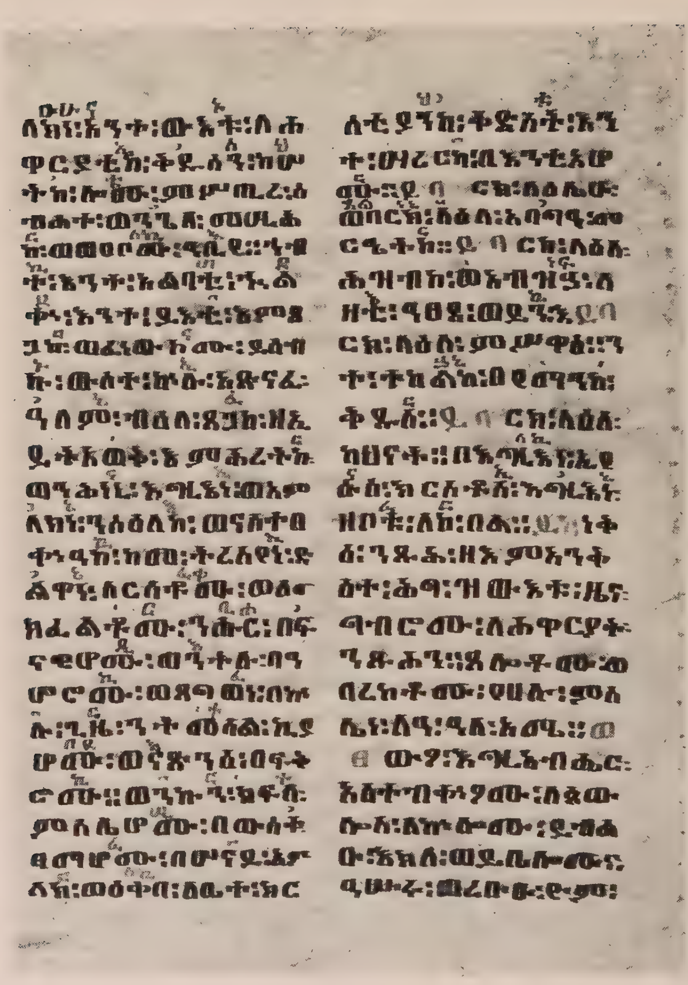

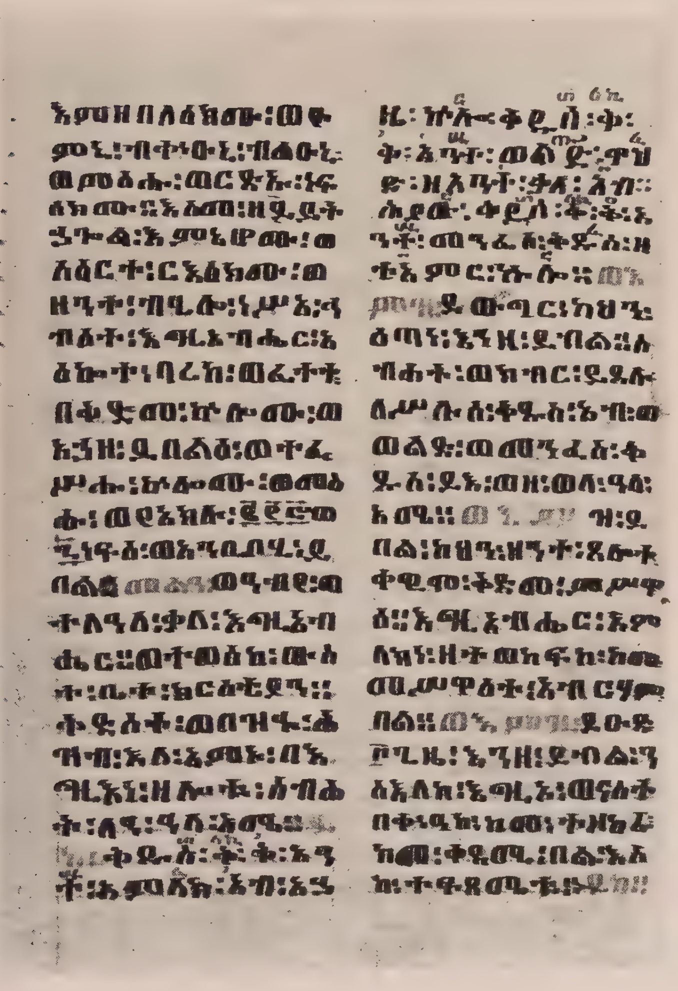

ተፈሥሒ፡ እዘኤዕኤሰኬ
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ዕተ፡ ክብር፡ ድንግል፡ ኵ
ሉ፡ ጊዜ፡ ወላዲተ፡ አም
ላክ፡ እሙ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ አ
ዐርጊ፡ ጸሎትነ፡ ዲበ፡ መ
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ልድኪ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ከመ፡ ይ
ሥረይ፡ ለነ፡ ኃጢአቲነ።
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ተ፡ [illegible] ግዘ፡ ይበሉ፡
ዕፍኡ፡ እመንጦለዕት፡ ወ
ይትቀነዩ፡ ካህናት፡ በተበ
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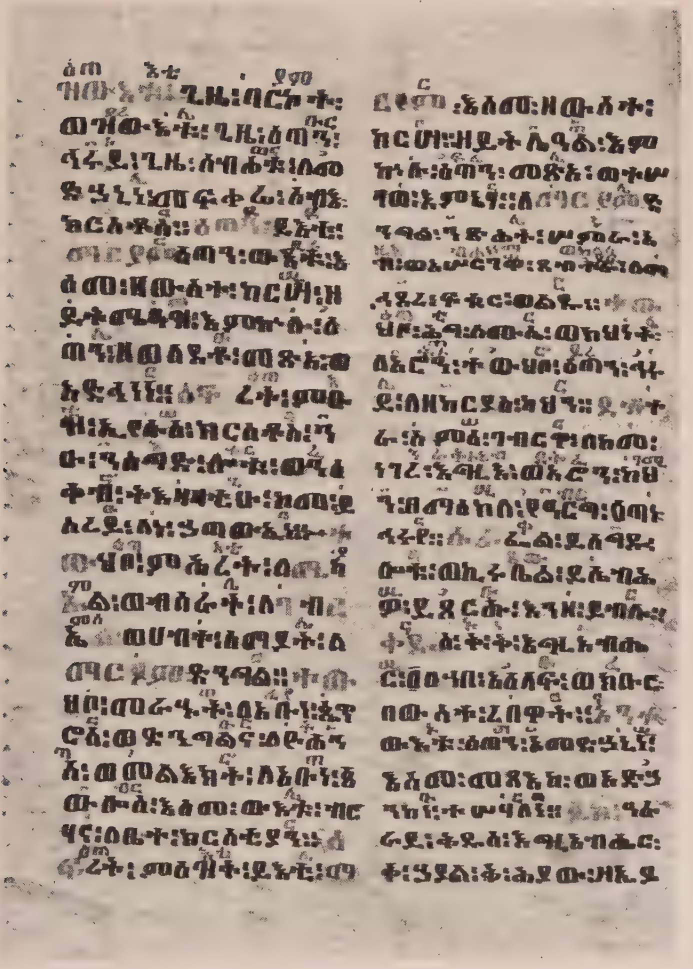

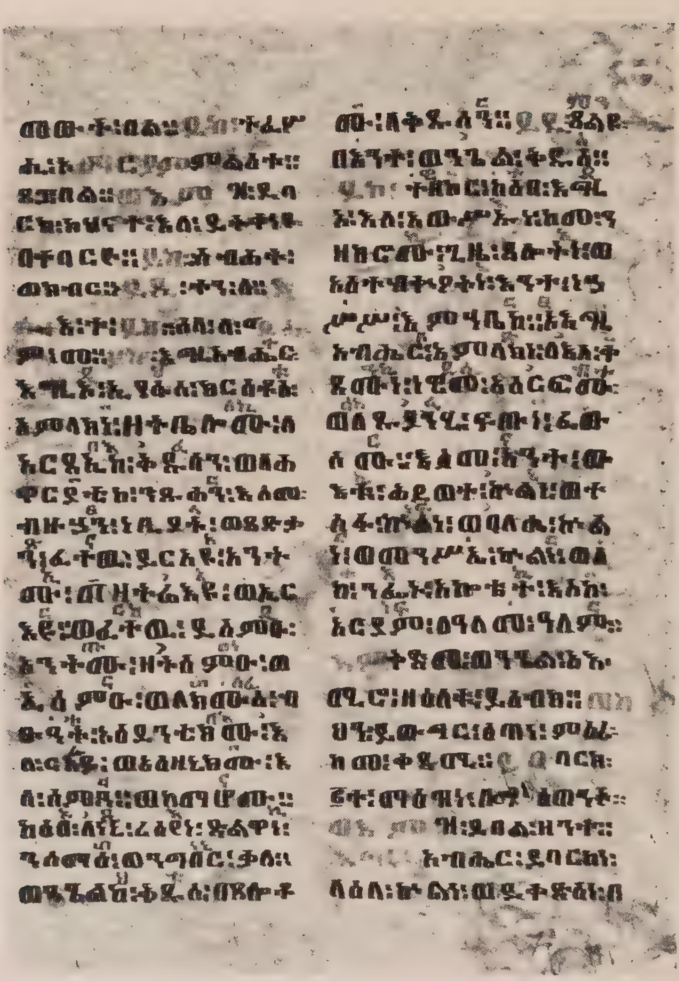

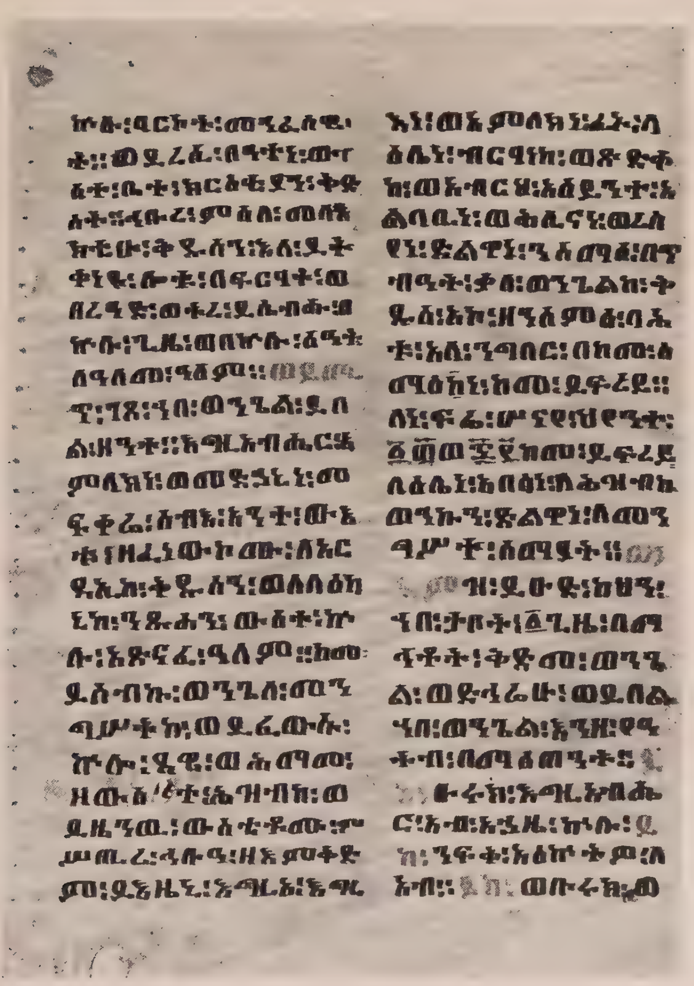

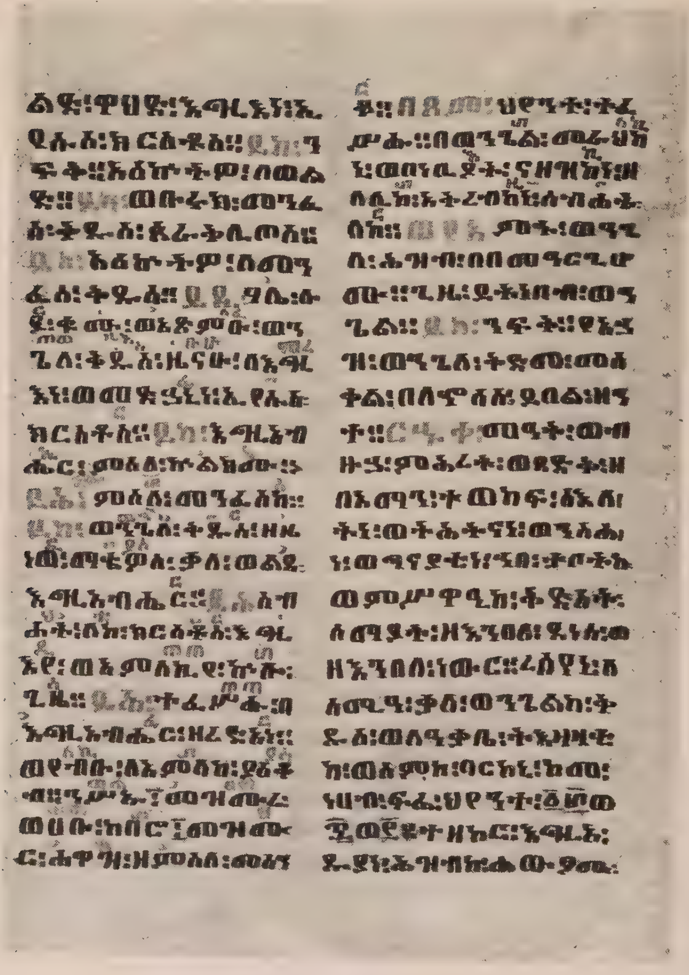

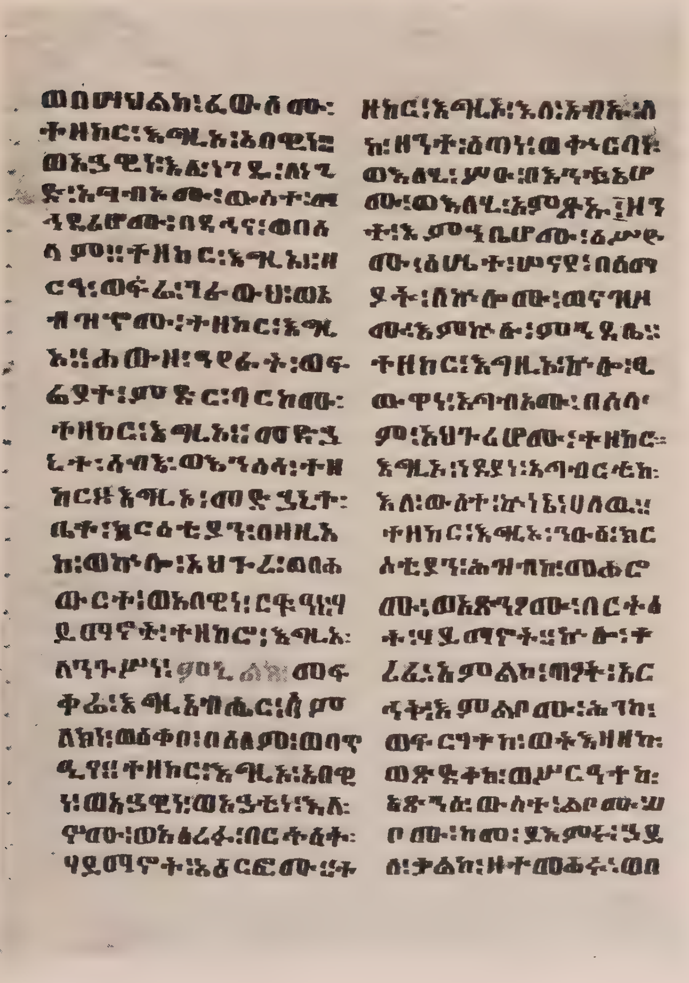

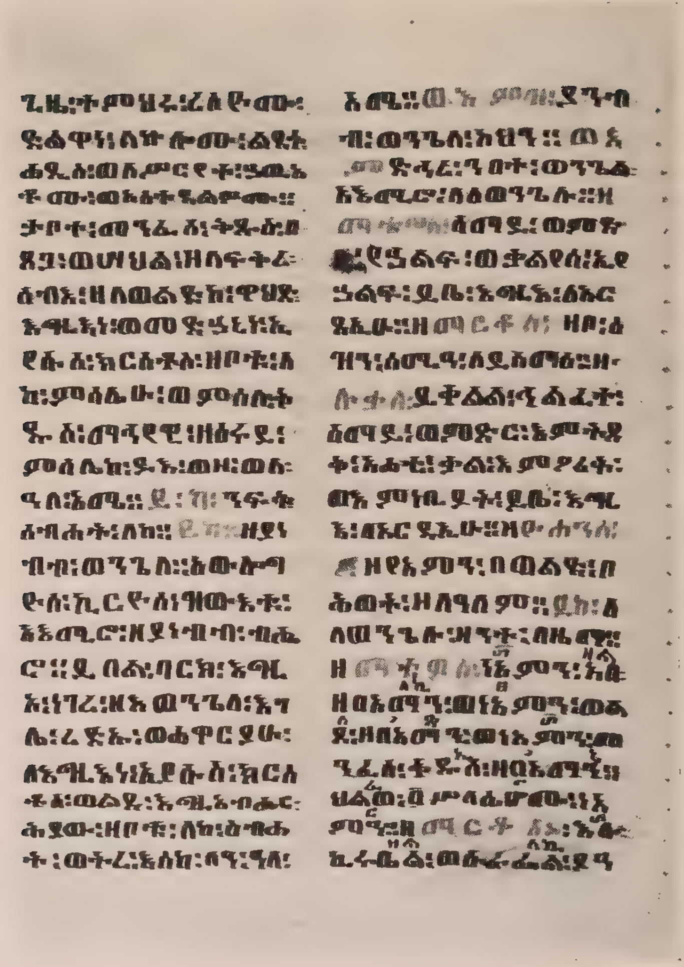

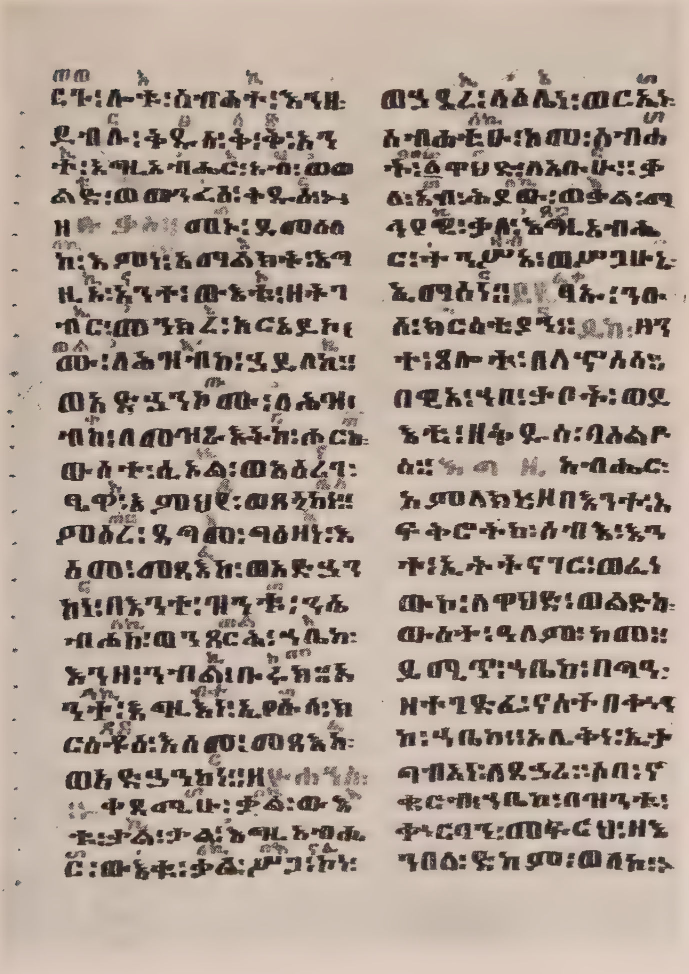

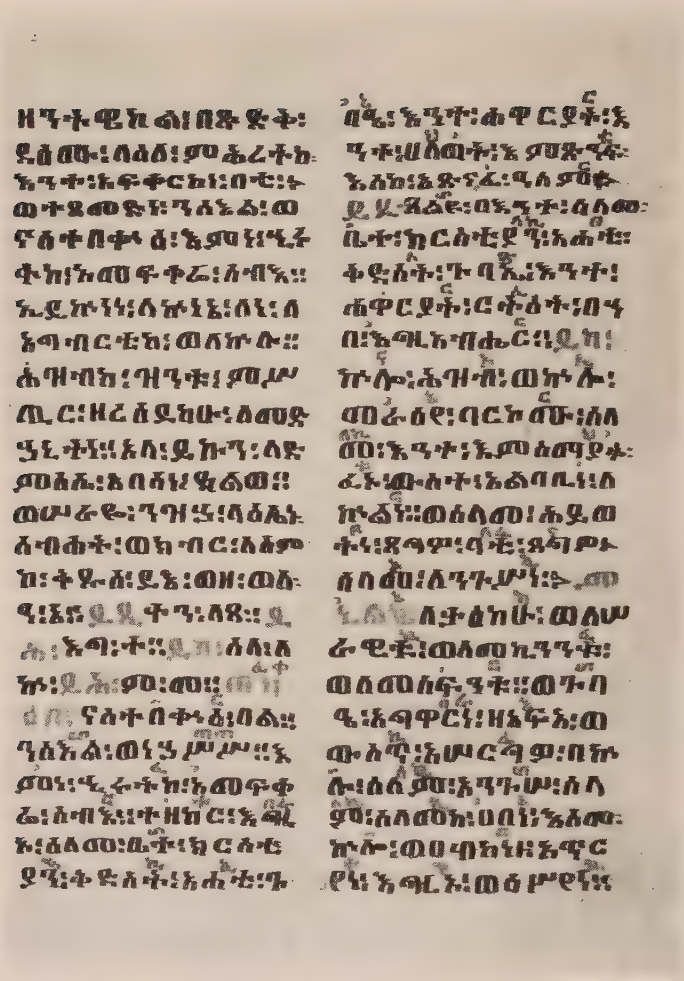

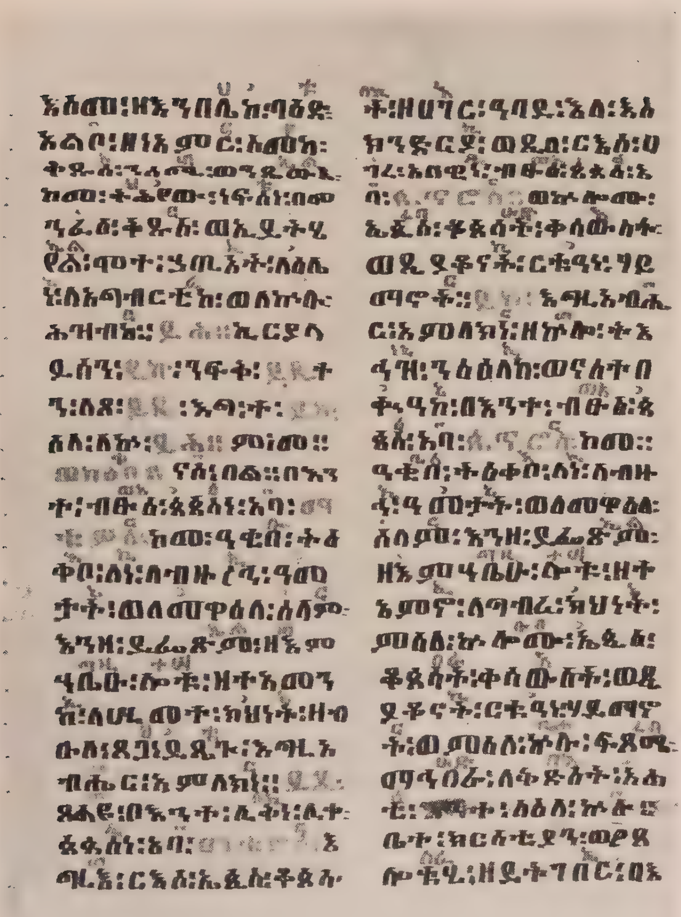

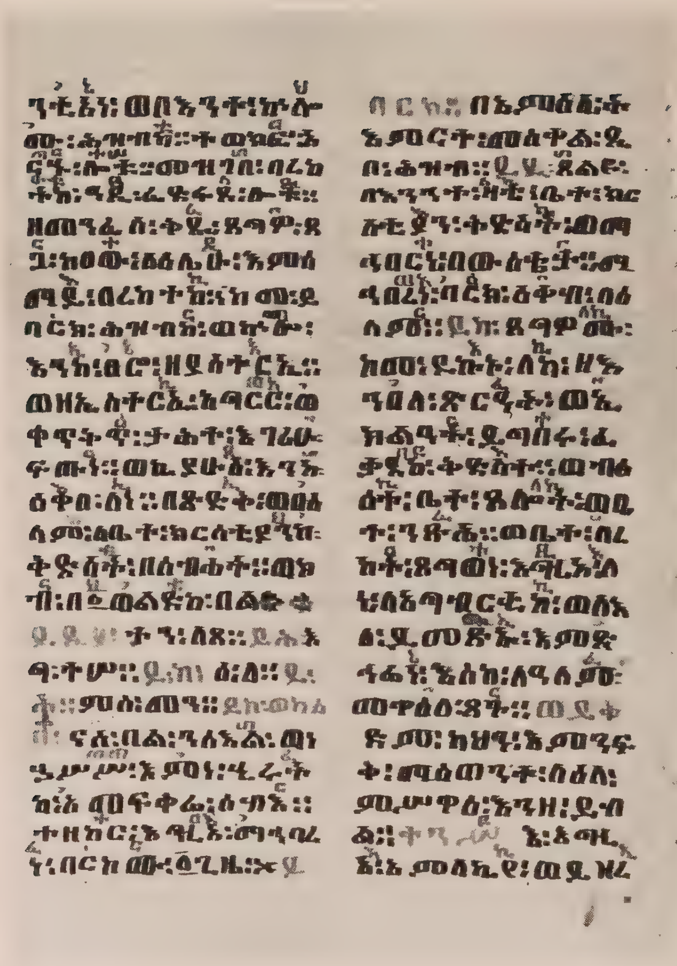

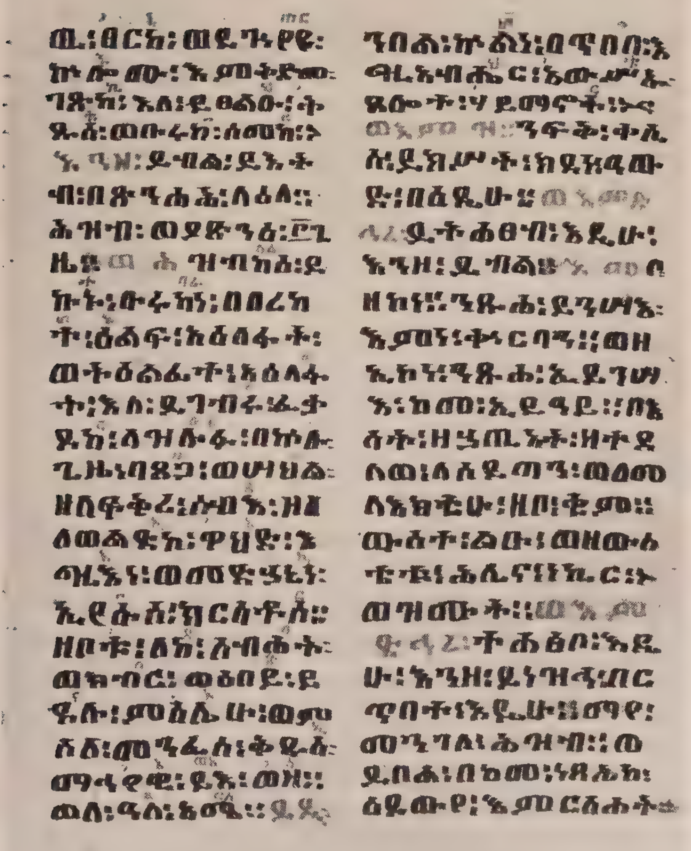

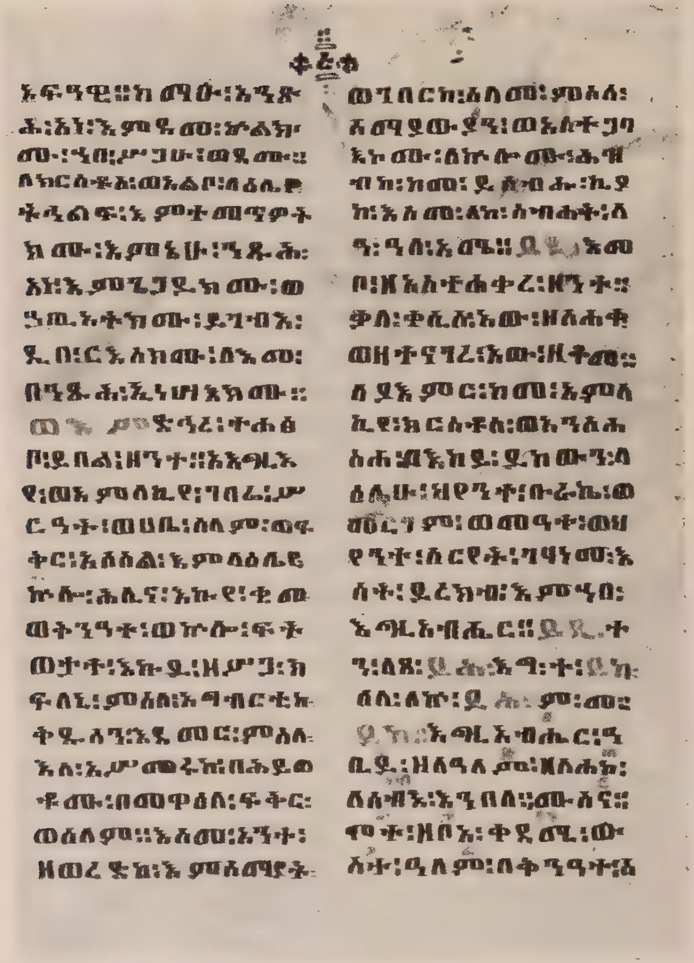

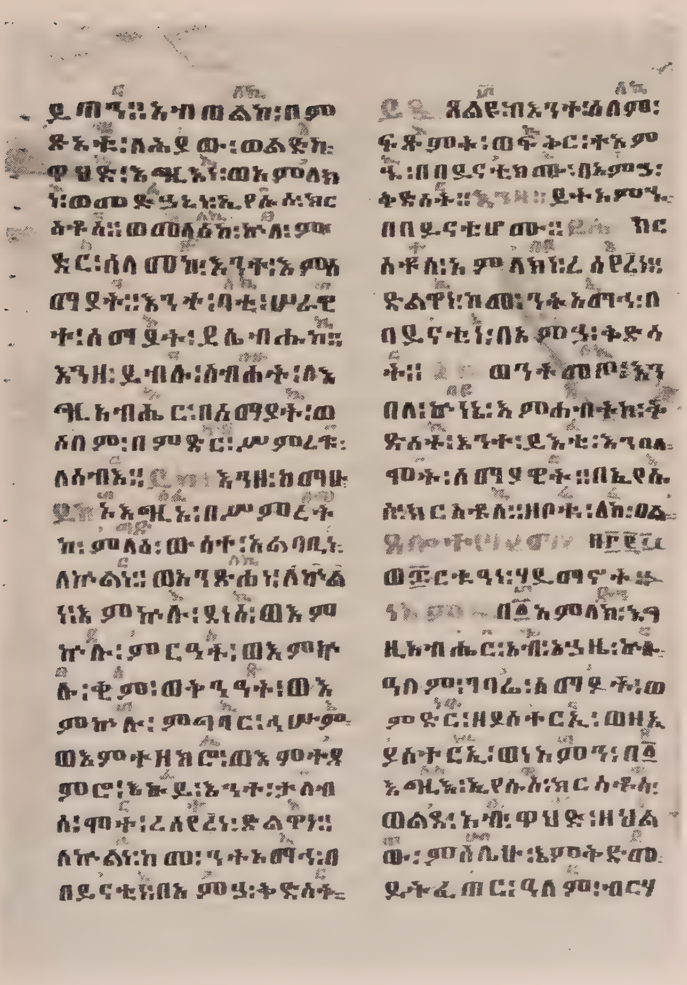

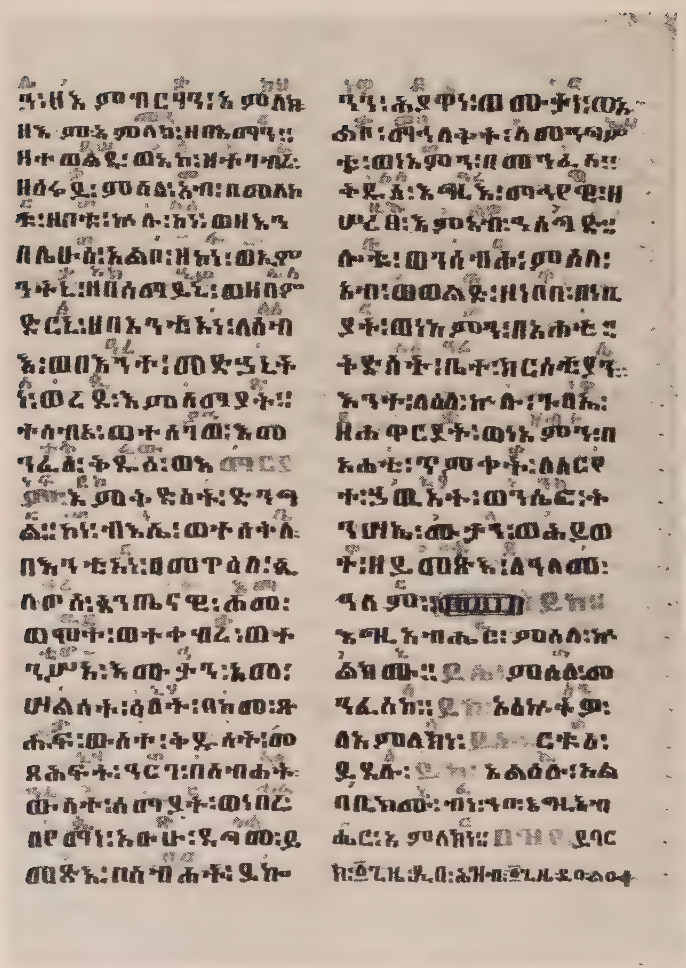

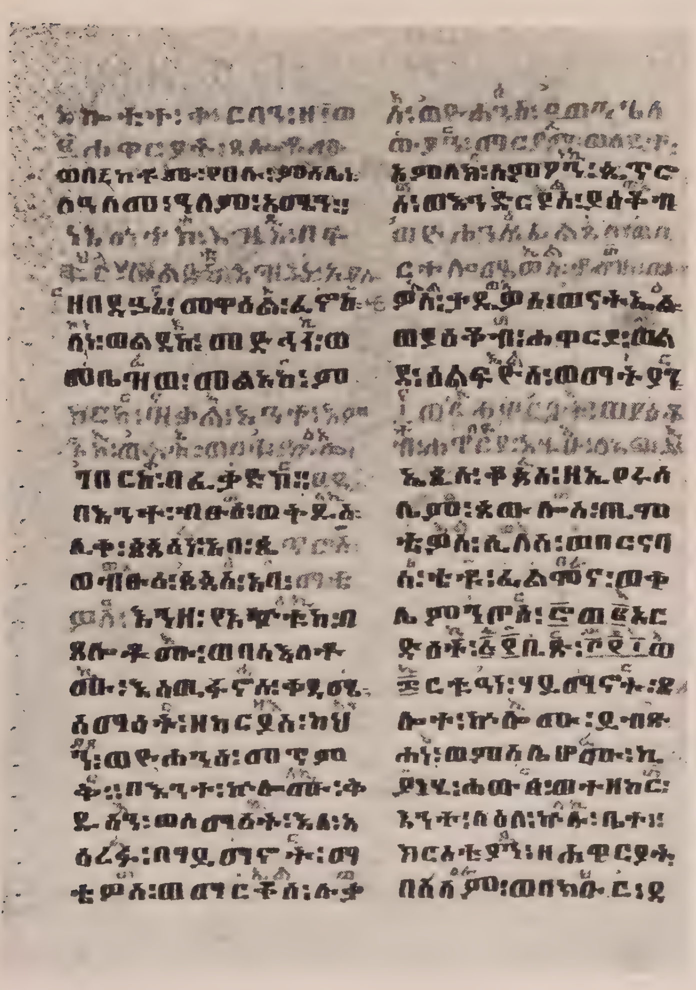

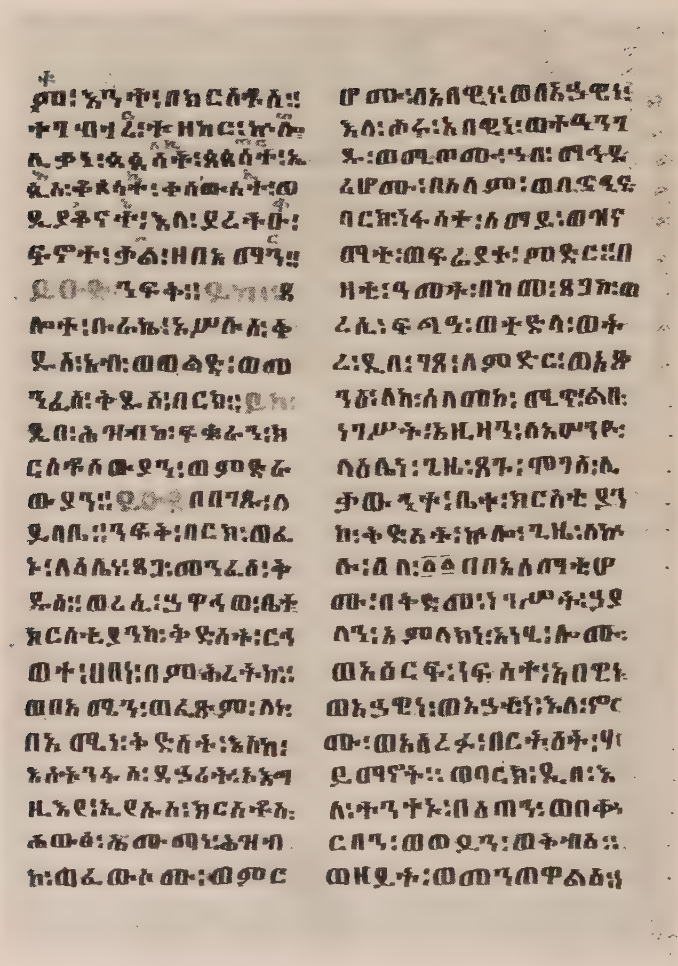

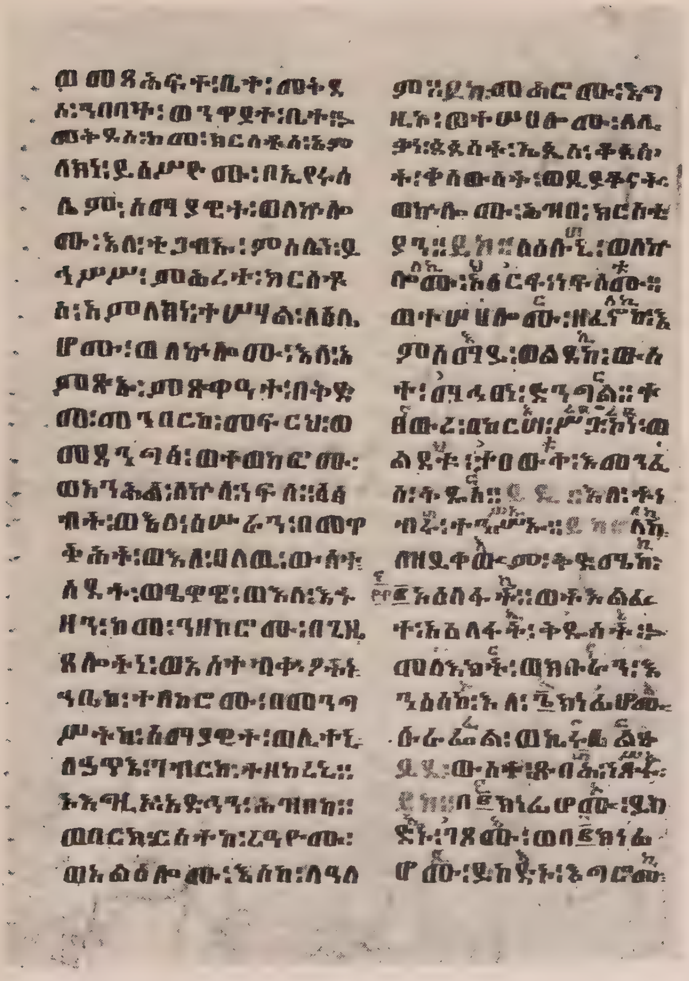

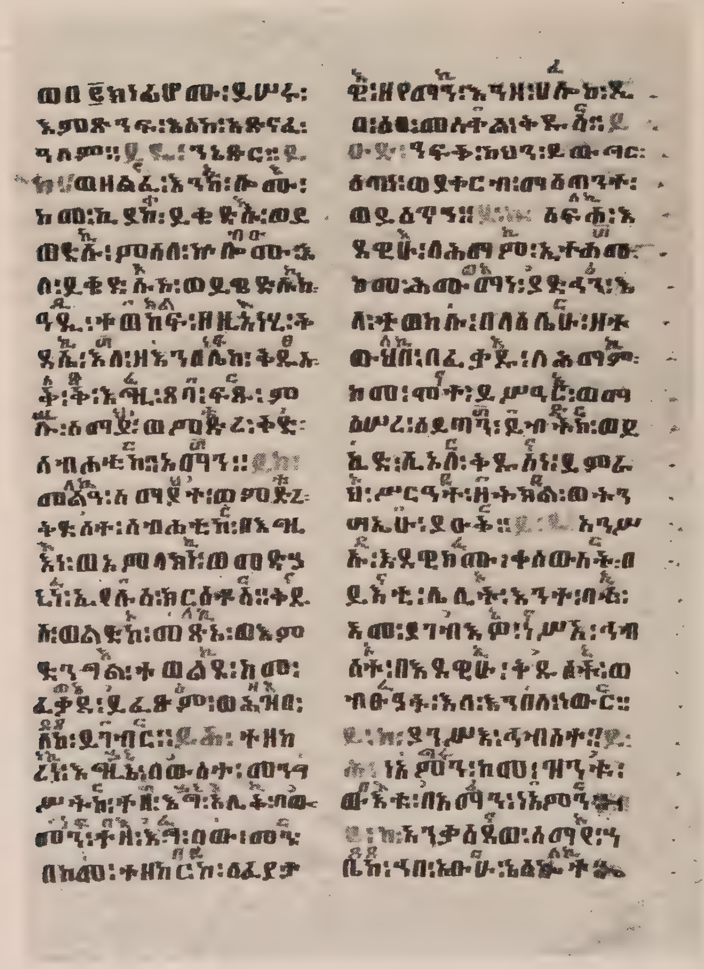

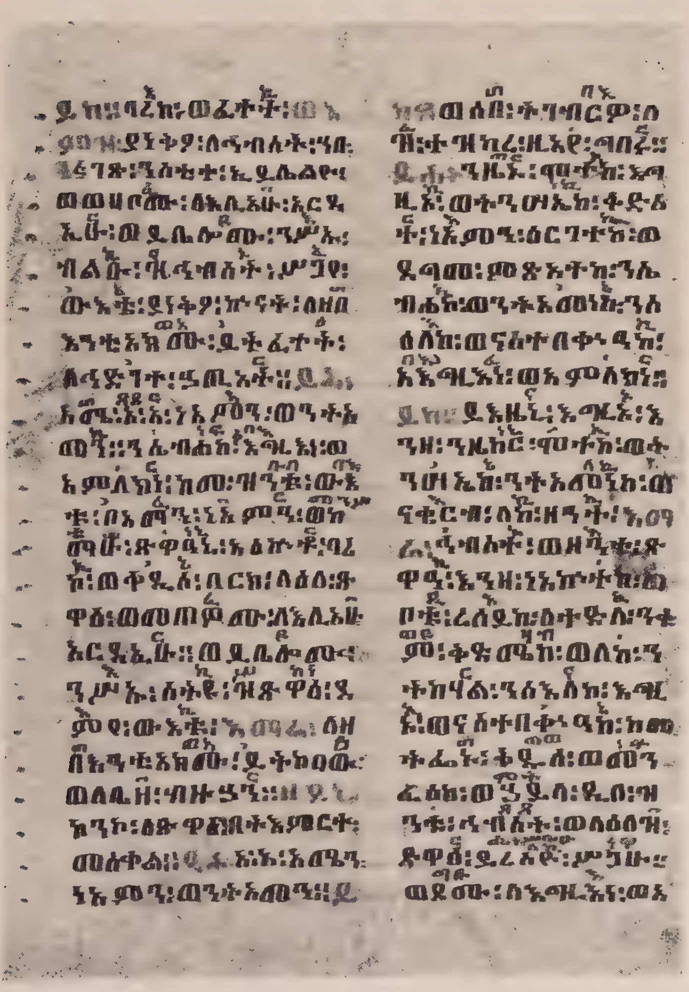

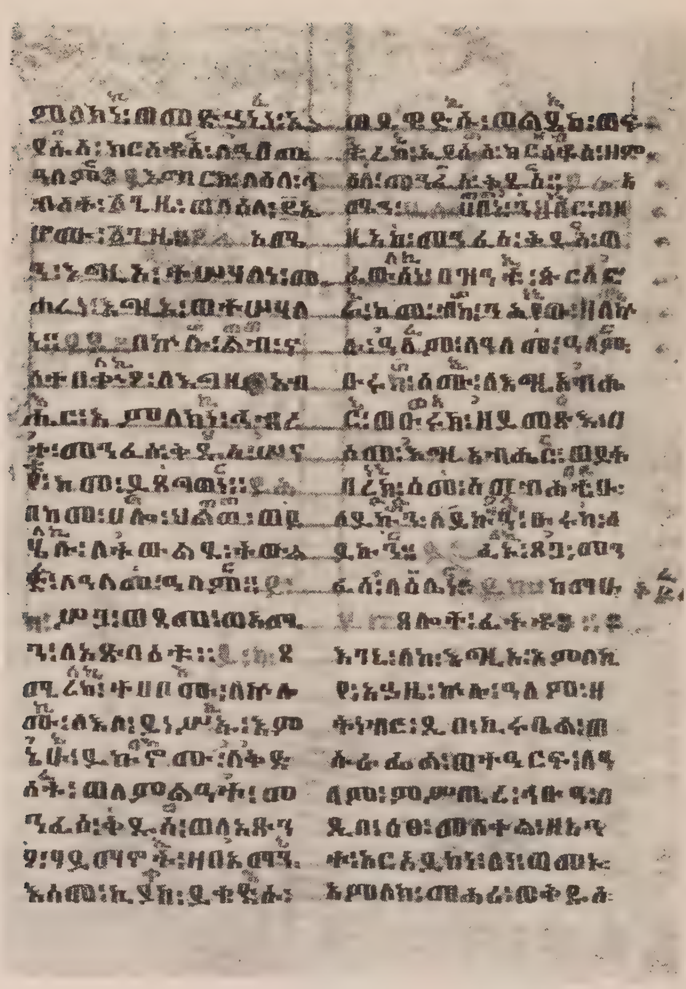

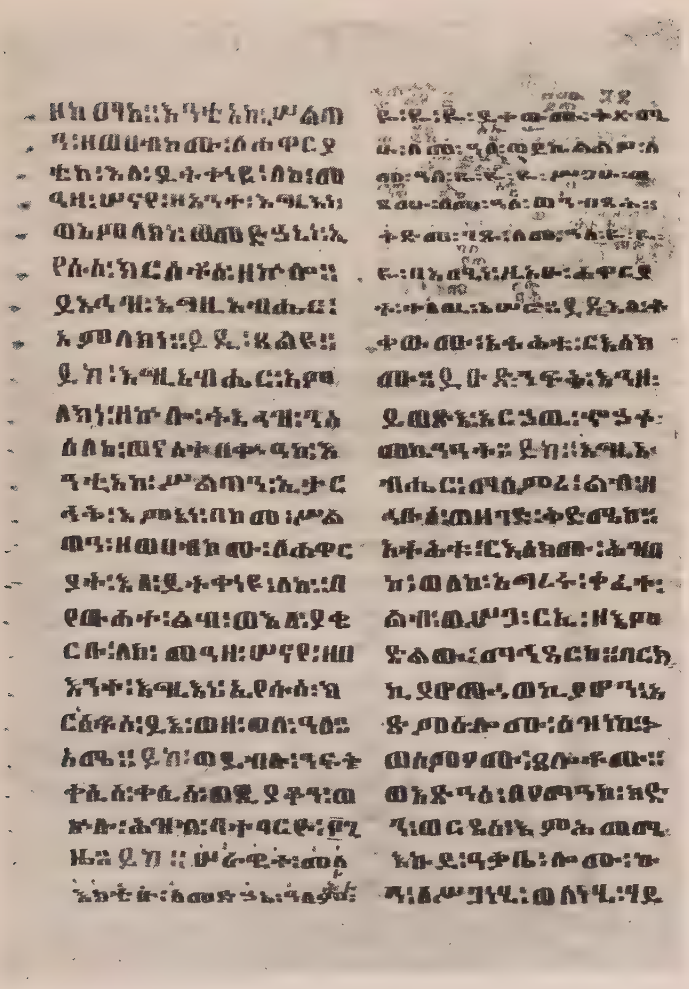

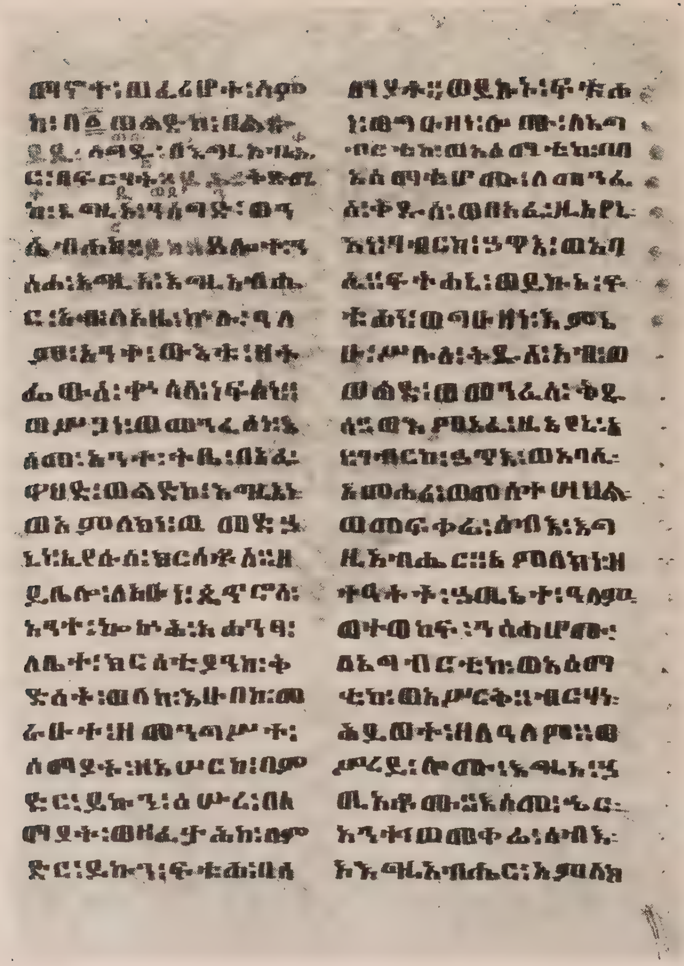

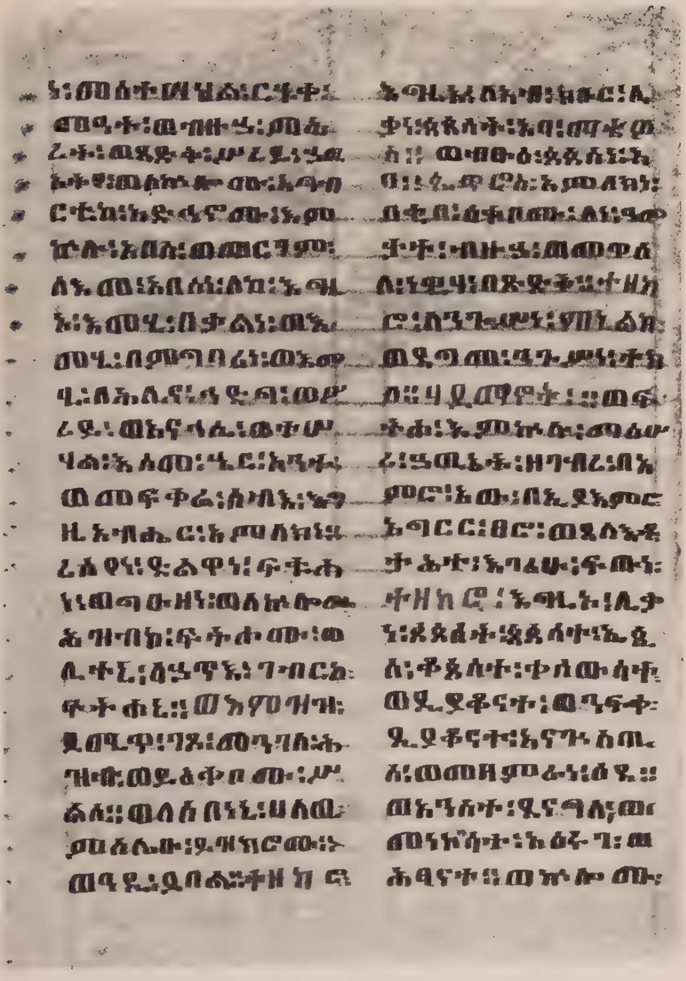

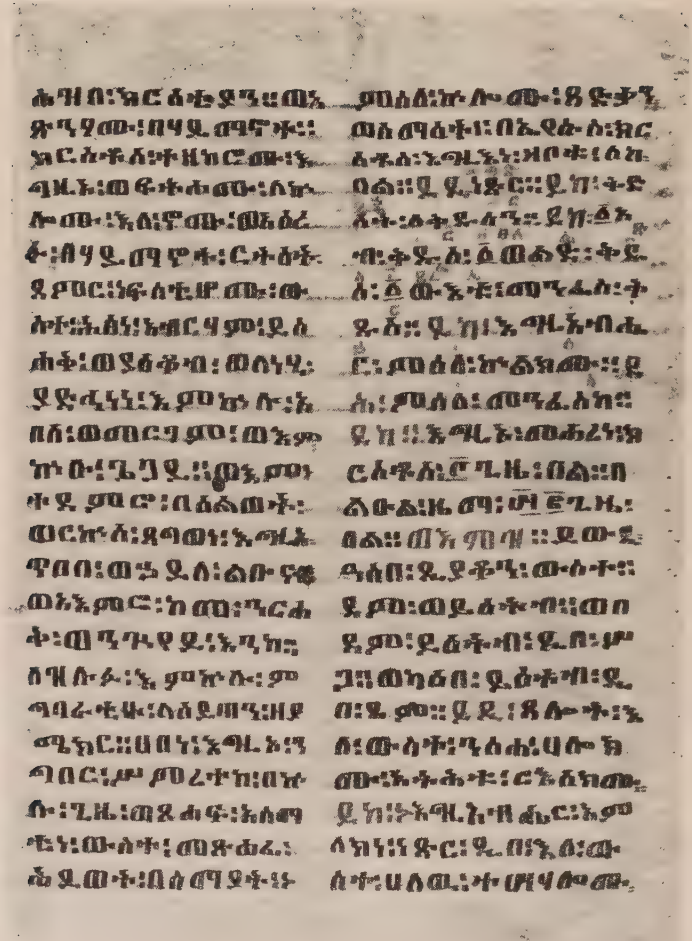

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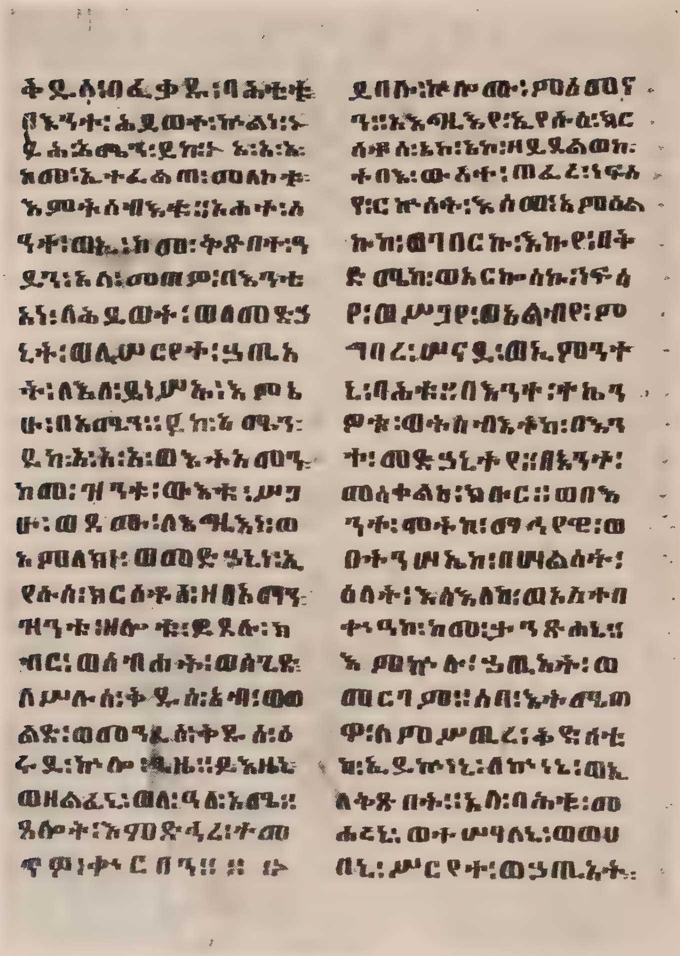

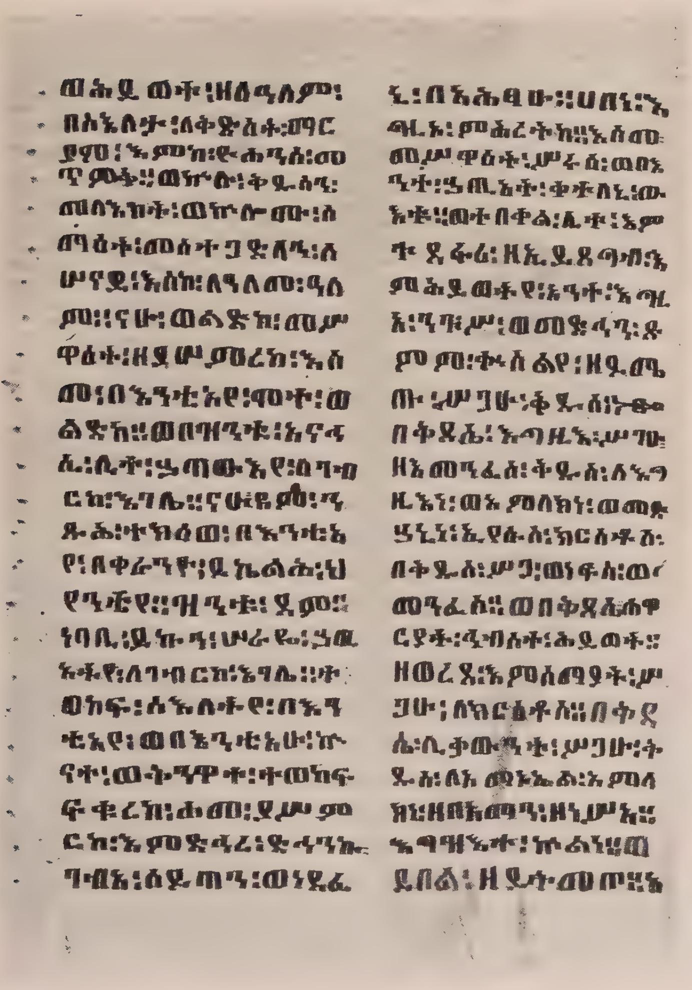

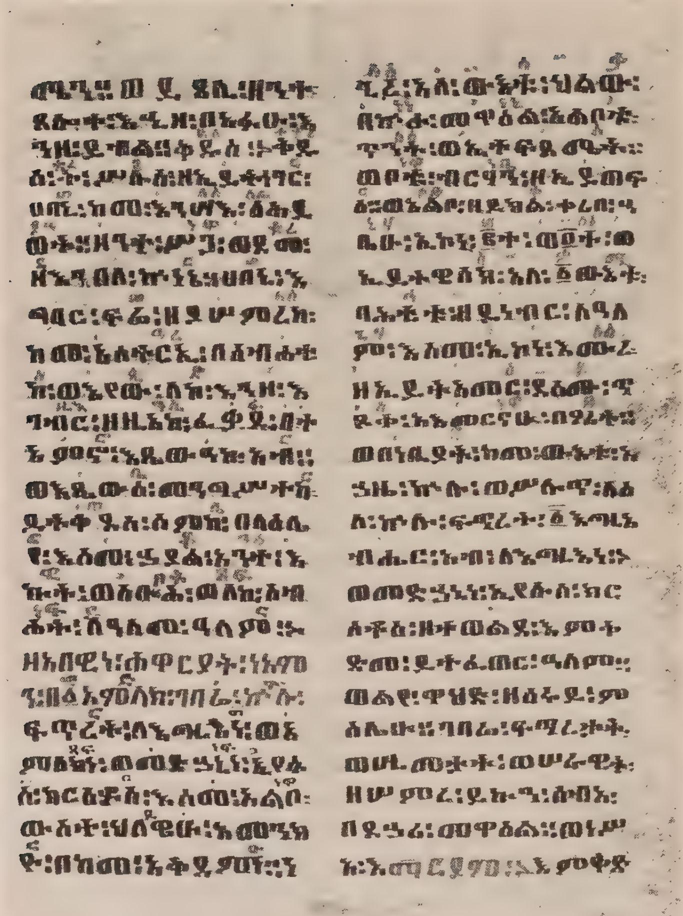

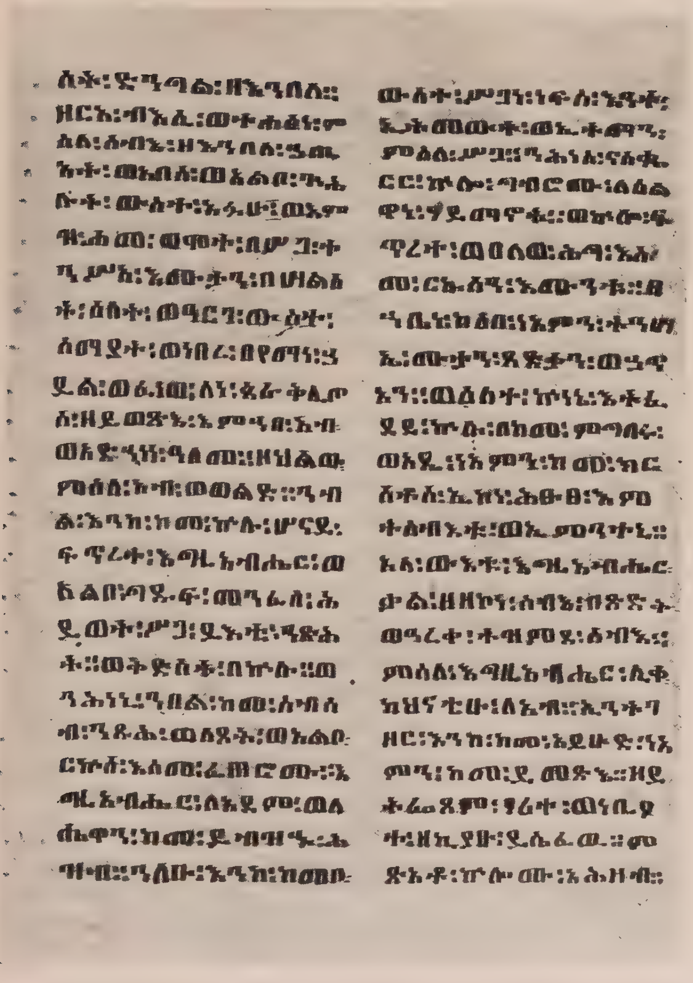

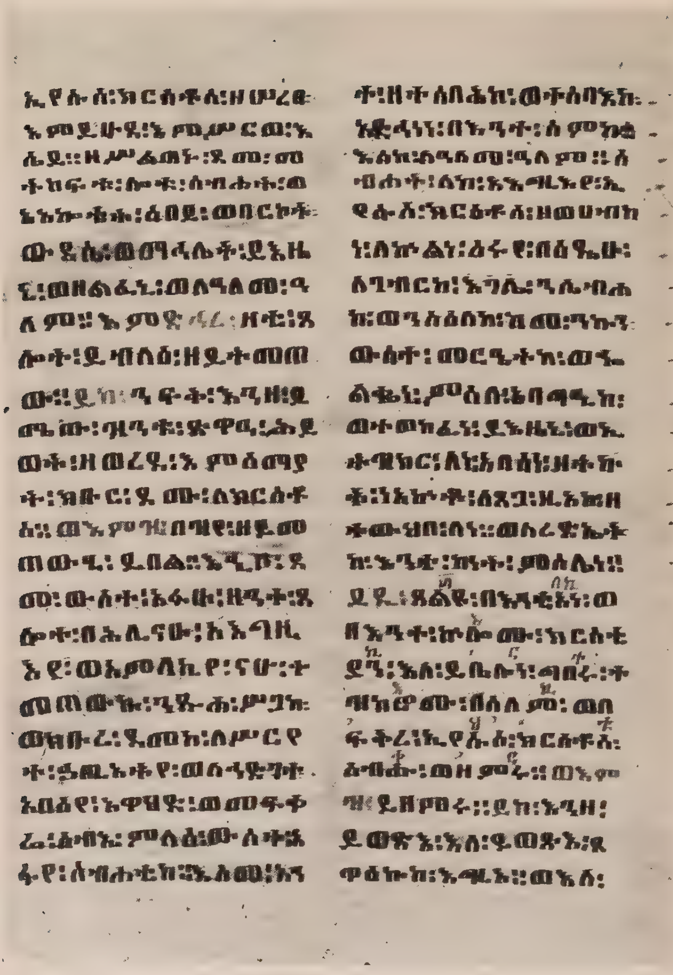

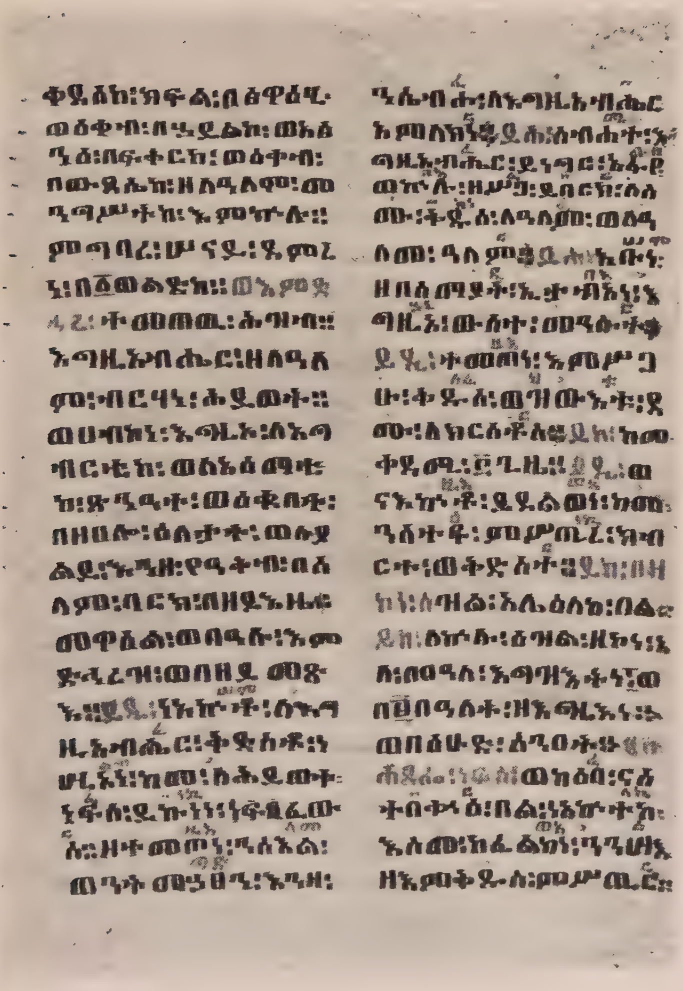

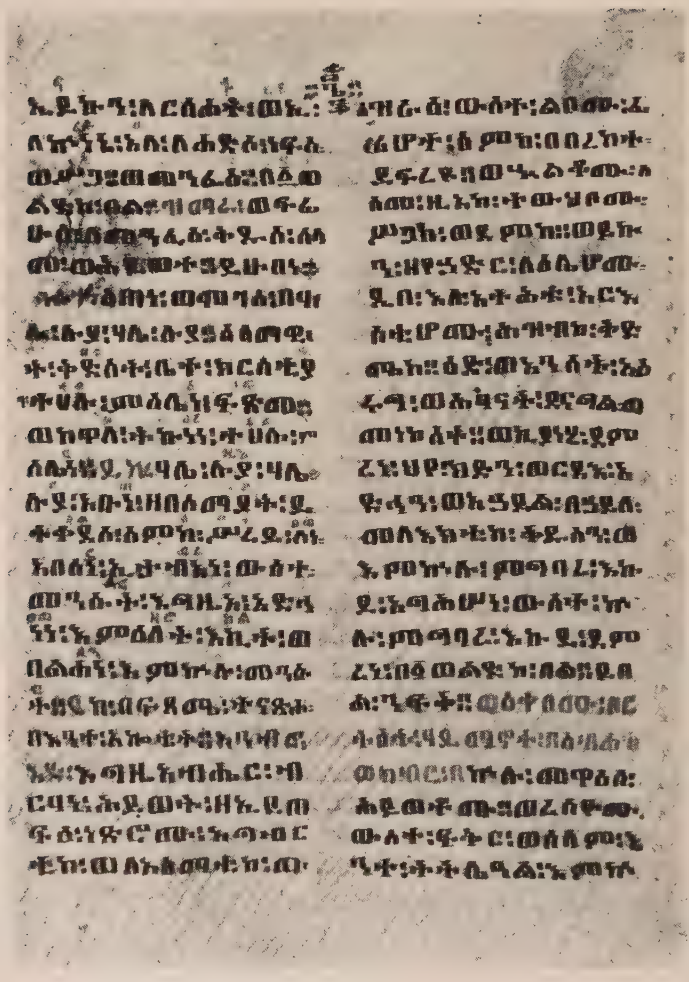

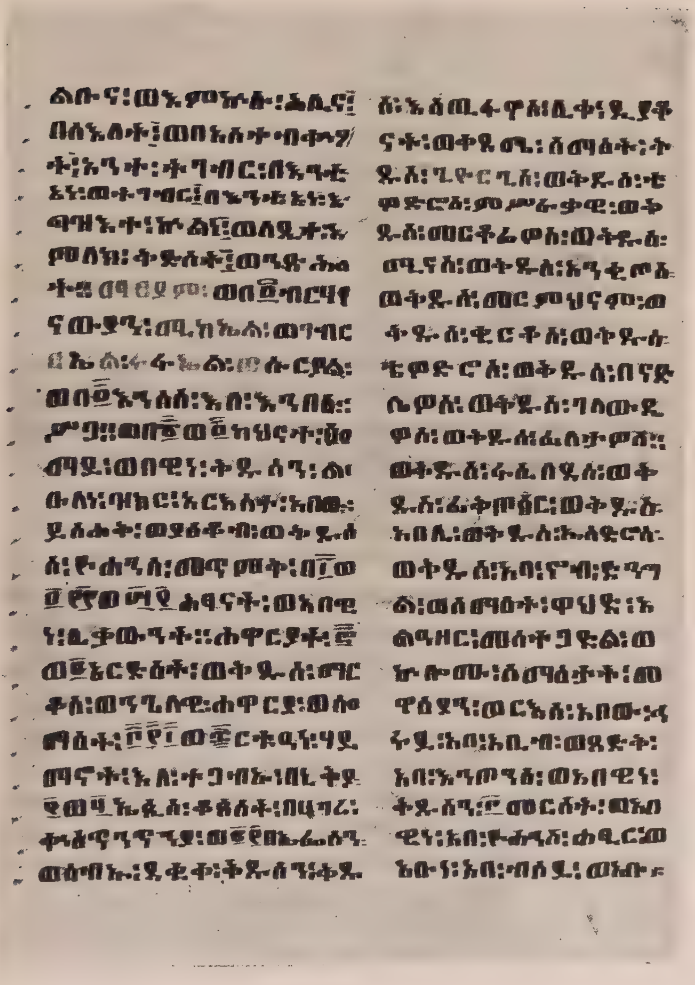

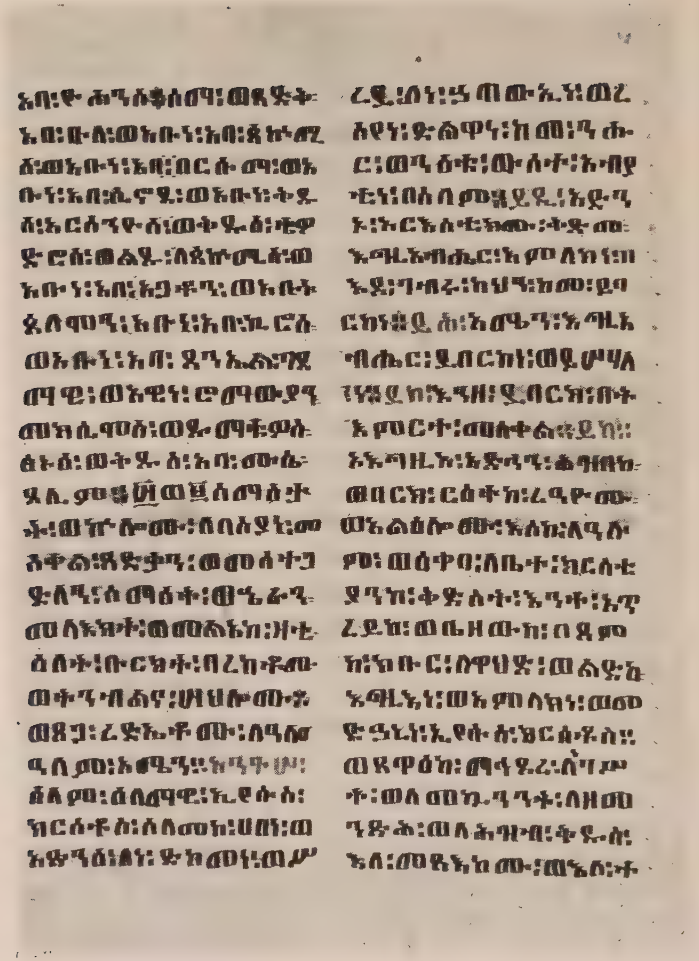

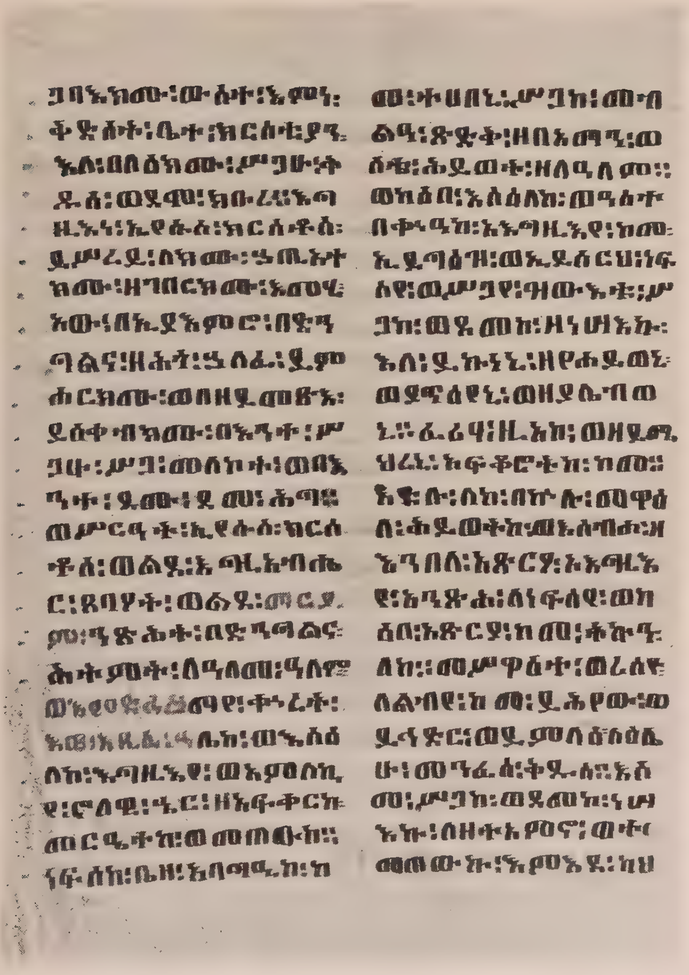

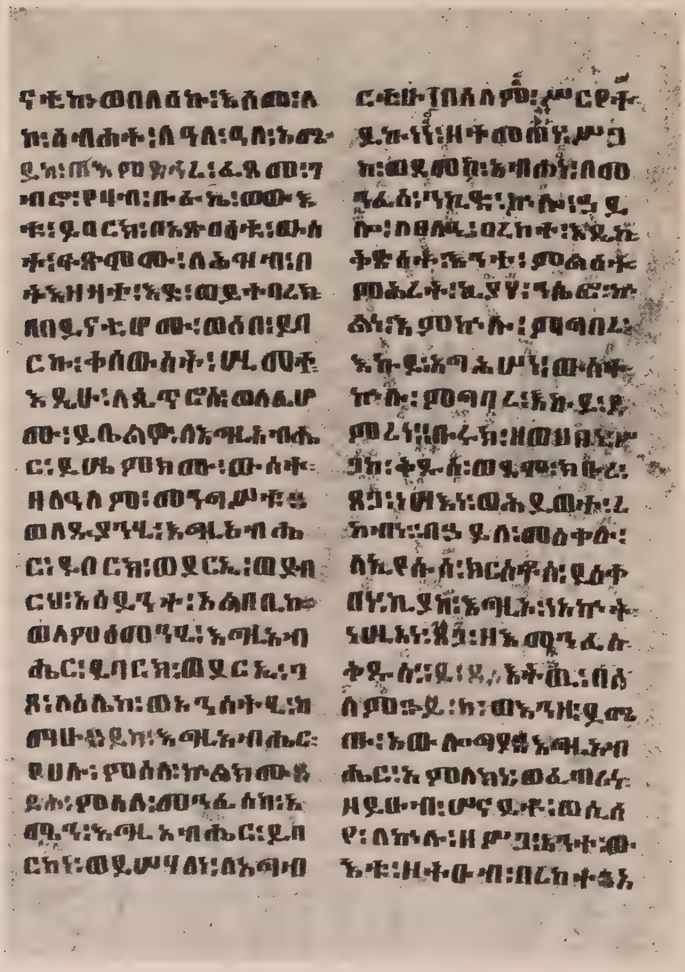

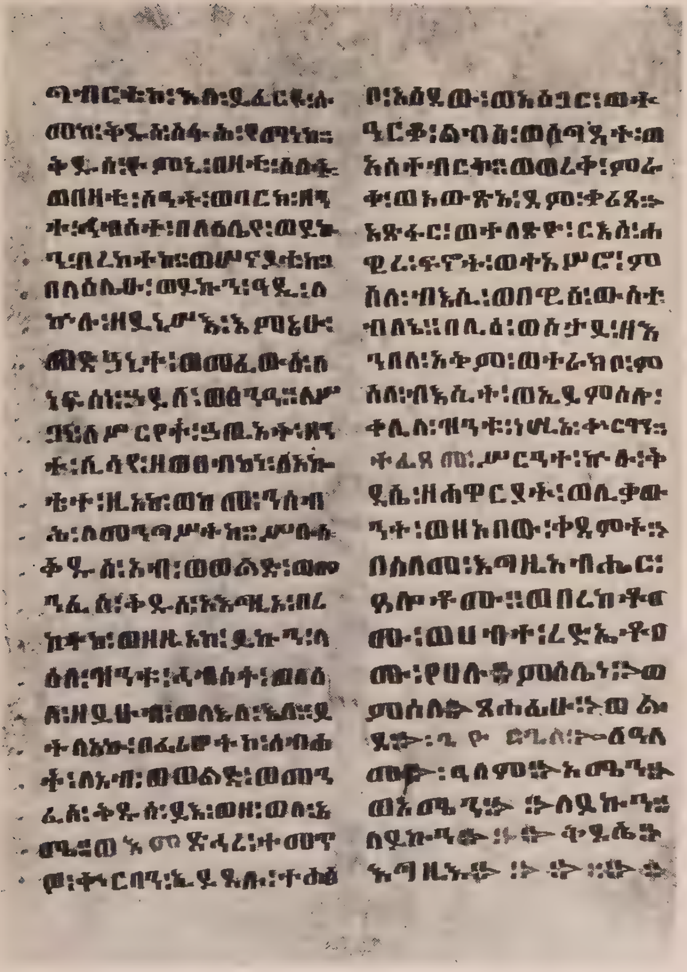

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